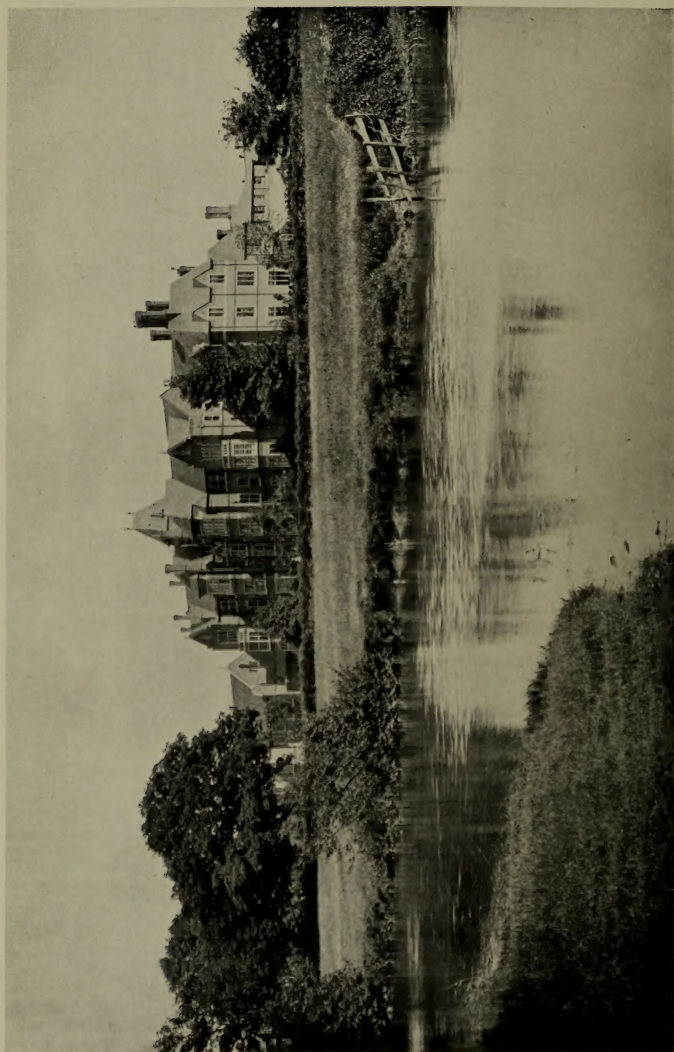


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HISTORY OF WARWICK SCHOOL



THE KING'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL, WARWICK, AND THE RIVER AVON.

Warwick

HISTORY OF WARWICK SCHOOL

WITH NOTICES OF
THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH, GILDS,
AND BOROUGH OF WARWICK

BY

A. F. LEACH, M.A.

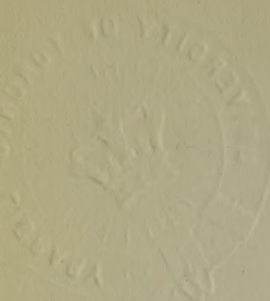
FORMERLY FELLOW OF
ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD



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P R E F A C E

THIS History owes its inception to a query addressed to me some twelve years ago by Dr. J. P. Way, then Headmaster of Warwick, now Headmaster of Rossall School. Apropos of the name 'The Kings Newe Scole of Warwyke,' the legal title of Warwick Grammar School from 1545 to 1875, Dr. Way wanted to know what was the old school, if King Henry VIII.'s foundation was the new school. As I knew that Warwick possessed an ancient collegiate church, and all, or nearly all, ancient college-churches maintained grammar schools, I ventured to predict that it would be found that the school existed from the twelfth century, and probably from pre-Conquest times. On consulting Dugdale's *Monasticon*, to see if there was any trace of the school in the account of the collegiate church, there leaped to sight, not merely, as hoped, some casual and incidental mention of the school in early times, but, among the earliest deeds relating to the church, a whole charter entirely devoted to the school, and other charters specifically dealing with it, putting its origin definitely back to pre-Conquest times. Reference to the original 'Chartulary,' or copy deed-book, of St. Mary's, now preserved in the Record Office, from which Dugdale printed these charters, revealed other mentions of the school, including school statutes of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Before these discoveries

were communicated to Dr. Way, he had himself resorted to Dugdale, and was equally pleased to find the pre-Norman antiquity of the school.

It seems strange that though these documents have been in print for more than two hundred years, in such a well-known collection of documents as the *Monasticon*, under the heading of St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Warwick, no notice was taken of them, and their import was never realised until now.

Further researches not only confirmed the continuous existence of the school, certainly from the days of King Edward the Confessor, but have shown its successive habitations in the reign of King Edward the Fourth and King Edward the Sixth, of Queen Elizabeth, Queen Mary II., and Queen Victoria.

A short statement of the salient points of these discoveries was published by me in an article in the *Westminster Gazette* in July 1894, and communicated to the Warwick public by Dr. Way at the Speech-day in that year. A few years later, anxious that so ancient a history should not again sink into oblivion, and to prevent distorted versions of it, which were current, Dr. Way asked me to undertake a regular history of the School. So in 1900, Dr. Way, in conjunction with Mr. R. C. Heath, the clerk to the Governors, and, as the later history will show, no small benefactor to the school, issued a circular to old boys and others interested, soliciting contributions of reminiscences and sketches of their school life. The response was sufficient to warrant proceeding with the work. But meanwhile the School had fallen on evil days. If the book had been published then, the contrast between the lean years then prevailing and the fat years previously would have been too pronounced. So it was postponed until happier

times ensued after the coming of Mr. W. T. Keeling in 1902. It is unfortunate that the inevitable delays of publication have further prevented its appearance till now, when, as it is passing through the press, comes the news of Mr. Keeling's departure to King Edward VI.'s School, Grantham, another ancient school, the antiquity of which is obscured by a modern name.

As the history of the School is inextricably mingled with the history of the borough in which it stands, and the church which maintained it for, say, the first 530 or 485 years of its existence, no apology is offered for including a full discussion of the origin of Warwick, the Castle, the borough, and the Earldom, and a history of the Collegiate Church. Those to whom such things are *caviare* are recommended to skip Chapters II., III., and IV. altogether; while they may like to use the same short way with the account of the Trinity Guild of Warwick in Chapter VI. and the Chantry of Guy's Cliff in Chapter V.

Thanks must be given to the Old Warwickians who have contributed their labours to the making of this story. First and foremost comes Archdeacon Baly, whose racy memory has rescued from oblivion the almost prehistoric days of George Innes, headmaster from 1793 to 1843; then the Rev. S. Hiron and Mr. R. C. Heath in the early and Mr. T. Kemp and Mr. A. E. Bowen in the later days of Herbert Hill, from 1843 to 1875; Mr. A. E. Bowen under Mr. Macmichael, 1875-1880; Mr. Norman Lane and Mr. A. Matthews under William Grundy, 1880-1885; Mr. W. V. P. Hexter, Mr. R. F. J. Sawyer, and Mr. G. E. Gordon under Dr. Way, 1885-1896; the two latter also covering part of Mr. Percival Brown's time to 1897.

Special acknowledgment is also due to Mr. T. Kemp, who, with his unrivalled knowledge of the records at Warwick, has generously given stores of extracts for reproduction in the book. To Mr. Davies is due the chapter on the Athletic record of the School. To Dr. Way and Mr. Keeling the author is indebted for much help.

Above all, those interested in the history of the Collegiate Church are indebted to Dr. Gore, who when Bishop of Worcester allowed me the use at home of the Episcopal Registers, from which a large part of it has been derived.

Lastly, the author may, with the mediæval scribe, say—

Finis nunc operi ; laus erit usque Deo.

A. F. LEACH.

34 ELM PARK GARDENS, S.W.,

3rd April 1906.

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THE HISTORY OF WARWICK SCHOOL

CHAPTER I

WARWICK SCHOOL IN THE DAYS OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR
AS SHOWN BY A WRIT OF HENRY I.

FEW, very few are the institutions in England in these days of King Edward, 'the Seventh after the Conquest,' which can bring direct and documentary evidence of their descent from the days of King Edward the Confessor, the last of many Edwards before the Conquest. The King's Grammar School, Warwick, is one of these few. There are other ancient schools which may claim a pre-Conquest title, of equal or greater antiquity than that of Warwick. Among them, St. Paul's School, London, St. Peter's School, York, and the King's School, Canterbury, our veritable 'Oldest School,' must rank in an ascending scale of antiquity before the King's School, Warwick. But for none of them can positive evidence yet be produced of continuous connection between the existing school, as we find it after the Conquest, and the same school as it undoubtedly existed on the day on which, in Domesday phrase, King Edward the Confessor 'was alive and dead.' In the case of Warwick School alone has the connecting link been found.

In this case documents of title, which would be pronounced good legal evidence by any judge, could be produced in court.

The chief document of title is a royal writ, a copy of which is to be found in the Chartulary,¹ or copy deed-book, of St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Warwick, now preserved in the Record Office.²

¹ *Chart.*, No. 19, f. 11.

² *Exch. Q. R. Miscellaneous Books*, 22. This MS. is in this book referred to as *Chart.*

It is headed in the Chartulary 'Confirmation by King Henry of the customs and ordeals of iron and water, and of the School of Warwick.' The original of this, as of nearly all the documents in the Chartulary, is in Latin. Translated it runs:—

'Henry, King of the English, to T., Bishop of Worcester, and R., Bishop of Chester, and Earl Roger and Geoffrey of Clint[on] and all barons of Warwickshire, greeting.

'I command that the Church of All Saints, Warwick, have all its customs and the ordeals (*judicia*) of iron and water, as well and lawfully (*juste*) as they used to have them in the time of King Edward, and of my father and brother, and have the School (*scolas*)¹ in like manner. Witness the Bishop of Lincoln at Woodstock.'

As is usual with these early documents, the writ is not dated; and the date has to be inferred from the persons mentioned in it. The king is Henry I., the only King Henry who was described by the simple and proud title of King of the English. Schools and ordeals being a matter of both ecclesiastical and civil concern, the writ is addressed to the chief ecclesiastical and civil authorities of the place. First comes the bishop of the diocese, the Bishop of Worcester, Teulf or Theodwulf, or Theoldus, as he is called in another document, who was consecrated² 27 June 1115, and died 20 October 1123. 'R., Bishop of Chester,' might be either of two Roberts who succeeded one another in the see of Chester, one from 1086 to 1117, and the other, Robert Peche, from 13 March 1121 to 22 August 1126. The direction of the writ to the Bishop of Chester at all requires explanation. In Domesday Book the Bishop of Chester is put before the Bishop of Worcester, in Warwickshire, though he only held three manors in the county, one of which belonged to the church of St. Chad, presumably St.

¹ Rows in his *Latin Roll* quotes it as '*scolam*.' At that time the use of the singular for a school was again becoming the fashion, though in official documents it is not usual till Henry VIII.'s reign. Here and always the spelling Rows is adopted, because, singularly enough, at a time when people's names were often spelt in half a dozen different ways in the same document, this Warwick Grammar School boy always spells his Rows. It was probably pronounced Roos, is translated Rossus, and said to mean 'the red.'

² Bishop Stubbs's *Episcopal Succession*.

Confirmatio Henrⁱ Regis de consuetudinibz et iudicⁱ ferri
et aque et solis Warwⁱ

N. Rex Anglⁱ et ep^o Wigornie. et R. ep^o de Cestria et comi
tibus et Gals. de Clint et omibz baronibz de Warwicscira
et. Precis quocumq^e omi^u Scoz de Warwicscira habeat omes
consuetudines suas et iudicia ferri et aque ita bene et iuste sic
solebat habere t^{em}p^{or}e Edvardi regⁱ et patris et filii mei et solas
omnes habeat et ep^o hinc ap^{ud} Widesfora; —

Chad's Cathedral, Lichfield. In 1102 the see of Chester had been moved from Chester to Coventry, which is in Warwickshire, and the title of Coventry and Lichfield eventually superseded that of Chester. While, however, Coventry and that part of Warwickshire surrounding Coventry was and is in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, Warwick and the western part always remained in the diocese of Worcester. There being two bishops in the county, and the possessions of All Saints' Church being in both dioceses, the writ was addressed to both. Earl Roger was addressed as the principal layman of the county, being Earl of Warwick. He had succeeded his father on 20 June 1123. Geoffrey of Clinton was probably Sheriff of Warwickshire, having received, it is said,¹ the sherifffdom as a hereditary gift on marrying the earl's daughter, Agnes. The witness of the Bishop of Lincoln does not help us much to a date, as his name is not given. But it must have been Alexander, elected in Lent or at Easter, and consecrated on 22 July 1123. It is a question whether a bishop was so called, and not merely 'elect' until his consecration.² If he was not called Bishop simpliciter before consecration, then the earliest date possible for the document must be 22 July 1123. In any case, it must be between Roger's accession to the earldom, 20 June, and Bishop Theodwulf's death, 20 October 1123.

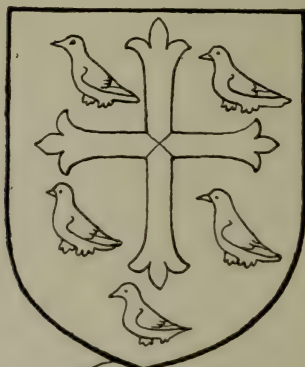
Here, then, is the evidence of a royal writ that the Church of All Saints was entitled to govern and keep a school in 1123 under Henry I., as it had under William II., William the Conqueror, and Edward the Confessor. It was also entitled to hold the trials by ordeal: the ordeal of water, the old Saxon method of 'sink or swim' in water with hands tied behind the back, and the ordeal of iron, carrying a red-hot iron in the hand or walking on red-hot ploughshares barefoot, as in the celebrated case of Queen Emma.

Short of a pre-Conquest document itself, there could not be better evidence that Warwick possessed a school under the

¹ Rows' *Latin Roll* under Earl Roger. But if he did receive it as a hereditary gift, he did not succeed in retaining it as such.

² *Feudal England*, by J. H. Round, Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1895, p. 484. Mr. Round, by the way, makes Alexander's consecration take place on 22 July on p. 484, and on 22 June on p. 485. The former is correct.

tutelage of All Saints' Church in the days of King Edward the Confessor.



*Edward the Confessor,
with Charters to
Warwick and its School.*

The Rows Rol, 12.



But what was the cause of the royal writ, and why do we find a copy of a writ for the benefit of a Church of All Saints

in the Chartulary, not of All Saints, but of St. Mary? What became of the Church of All Saints, for there is no ancient Church in Warwick known under that title now,¹ and what was it? The answer to these questions is forthcoming out of various documents in the Chartulary.

A few pages earlier than the royal writ we are confronted with the following, at first sight, confusing document,² headed 'Charter of the same (viz. Earl Roger) for the School of Warwick (*de scolis Warwici*) given to the Church of St. Mary.'

'R., Earl of Warwick (*comes de Warewic*) to all his faithful people of Warwick, greeting. Know that I have granted and given in alms for myself and my ancestors to the Church of St. Mary of Warwick the School (*scolas*) of the same Church of Warwick, that the service of God in the same church may be improved by being frequented by scholars. We order, therefore, that the said church may hold it quietly and freely, and that no one by any violence may take the school from the church. Farewell.'

The witnesses are Robert of Newburgh, and G., whom other documents³ show to be Geoffrey, the earl's brothers; Countess Gundreda, his wife; Thurstan of Montfort, Edwin the bailiff, Walter, chaplain, and others, of whom Mahal of Stafford is probably the son of Robert of Stafford, one of the great Domesday landholders in Warwickshire and Staffordshire.

This document, like the former, is undated, and there being unfortunately no bishops or other magnates mentioned in it, except Earl Roger himself, it can only be dated as not earlier than Earl Roger's accession, 20 June 1123. It is, however, in all probability, earlier than the royal writ, which seems to have been an answer to and supersession of the earl's grant. The two conflicting documents, the earl's deed and the king's writ, represent and record the conflict of two rival churches, All Saints' in the Castle and St. Mary's in the town, both collegiate churches of secular canons, such as Westminster and Windsor are now.

¹ The present Church of All Saints only represents a new ecclesiastical district carved out of St. Nicholas's parish in 1861, and the adoption of the name is most unfortunate as tending to obscure and confuse history.

² *Chart.*, No. 12, f. 8b.

³ *e.g.* The testatum given in the facsimile of f. xj of the Chartulary.

The writ was probably the result of an appeal by the Church of All Saints to the King's Court against the grant by the earl to the Church of St. Mary's of the School of the Church of Warwick, or, what was the same thing, the School of Warwick. The writ confirmed to All Saints' the right, and—since overlapping in secondary schools was not allowed in those times, nor at any time before the Revolution—the exclusive right to keep a school in Warwick. The writ must have been founded on the claim and the establishment of the claim of All Saints' to be the 'mother church,' the principal as well as the oldest church of Warwick, against St. Mary's, which had tried to usurp that title and the rights belonging to it, and had been aided and abetted in its usurpation by the earl of the county and lord of its capital.

How there came to be two rival collegiate churches and rival claimants of Warwick School at this early date is a question that carries us back to the origin and early history of the town of Warwick itself.

Carta eiusdem de scholis Warwiche dat ecclesie sctę marie

3. R. Comes de Warwiche Omnibz suis fidelibz de Warwiche salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et dedisse in elemosinā ecclesie sctę marie de Warwiche scholas ipsius ecclesie Warwiche p me et antecessoribz meis ut permittit si i eade ecclesia frequentatio scolasticorū emendat. Deprecor qd ne quiete et libe teneat eas dicta ecclesia et ne eas aliquis aliqua violencia sumptat ab ecclesia. Dat. 4. Rob. de nouo Burgo. 6. frē ei. Gind. comā. Curst. de mūt. fort. Edm. post. Vale. Capell. Glib. Giffart. Ric. de unum. Rob. perher. Mahat. de. Saffar. Mahat. de unum. Ham. pistor.

Carta eiusdem de capella sctę Jacobi dat ecclesie sctę marie Warwiche

2. R. Com. Warwiche Omnibz sctę marie ecclesie filiis salutem. Sciat tū fuit quā pntes me concessisse et dedisse et hac pnti carta mea confirmasse de et cōm beate marie de Warwiche in pntā et ppetuā elemosinā capellā sctę Jacobi q fundata est assensu ipor cōm in parochia sua sup portam occidentalem burgi mei de Warwiche cū omnibz tūo pnti capelle pntiendz. Sibi cū croco ext. pntiendz.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN OF WARWICK

THE earliest appearance of Warwick in history is in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 914. In 912 we read, 'died Æthered, ealderman of the Mercians, and King Eadward,' who was his brother-in-law, 'took possession of London and Oxford and all the lands which belonged thereto.'

In 913: 'In this year, God granting, Æthelflæd, the lady of the Mercians, Æthered's widow, 'with all the Mercians went to Tamworth, and built the burh there in the early summer; and before the following Lammas (Lammas Day, the loaf or wheat harvest, was 1 August) that at Stamford. Then in the year after this (914) at Eddisbury in the early summer, and afterwards in the same year towards the end of harvest, that at Warwick.' The name in the original is written Wæringwicon, in which Kemble would have had no difficulty in seeing the Wick of the Warings,¹ though other Anglo-Saxon etymologists assert that it means the Wick of the Mound. It is one which may dispense us from the vain pursuit of Warwick as 'Cayrwayre' and 'Carewayr,' so called after an imaginary Gwayr, 'a noble prince² of the blood royal of the Britons, nigh cousin to King Arthur, one of the Nine Worthies, who did great cost of this town and named it after him Carewayr.' 'This lord, or one of his successors of the Britons,' says Rows, introduced the famous emblem of the ragged staff, 'a ragged staf of silver on a felde of sable,' as his arms—some five or six centuries before coats of arms were invented—because 'on a time he met with

¹ Wæringwicum in MS. C. = 'at the dwellings of the Waerings'; wicum being the dative plural as usual in place-names. Professor Skeat says the 'Wick of the Mound' is impossible. Wæringa-wic, or the wick of the weir, is possible. Wer means a mill-dam, not a mound in any other sense.

² *The Rows Rol*, No. 5.

a giant that ran on him with a tree shred and the bark off, but the lord had grace with him and was a “delyver” man and



*The Lady Ethelfled,
as foundress of
Warwick Castle.*

The Rows Rol, 11.

overcame the “geant.” But we really cannot accept this Gwyer or Ware as an historical personage. Still less need

Warwick be claimed as Caerleon and its founder as 'King Guthelyne, hole kyng of Grete Brytayne,' even though he 'was a great builder, and made this borough abowte the byrthe of Kyng Alysander, the grete Conquerour, on of the ix worthy.' What though 'Dan Thomas Wynchecombys' works in the Abbey of Evesham are ready to vouch it, and Master Gerald Barre and Gildas between them accommodately provide three Caerleons to choose from. Whether there was or was not a British ford and fort on the site of Warwick we do not know. We cannot regard as history the romances of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and we may disregard the 'Walshe Cronycles' cited by Rows in general terms, *et quicquid Gallia mendax Audet in historia*, and remain on the firm ground of the Saxon Chronicle.

The fortification of Warwick was a part of a grand series of castle-buildings undertaken by Edward the Elder, King of the West Saxons, and his sister Ethelfled, lady of the Mercians, which resulted in the reconquest of England from the Danes and the establishment of Edward and his more famous son, Athelstan, as real kings, not of Wessex and Mercia only, but of England. It is the earliest recorded instance in English history of war conducted on a scientific plan. The fame of Edward has been overshadowed by that of his father, Alfred, and his son, Athelstan. But if Alfred harassed the Danes in battle and won successes in 'the stricken field,' he lived and died king of only part of Wessex. It was left for Edward and his sister, the widow of the alderman of the Mercians, to establish a concerted scheme of advance, consolidated at every step by the establishment of forts which proved impregnable to the military skill of that day. If Alfred was the Roberts, Edward was the Kitchener, of the Danish War. The great advance took place on the death of Ethelfled's husband in 912. Edward at once took possession of London and Oxford, hitherto Mercian, and the same year commanded 'the North burh' at Hertford to be built. His sister began fortifying the West, presumably to stop the Welsh from coming to the Danes' assistance, at 'Scargeat' (wherever that may be) and Bridgnorth. Next year she completed a line east from Bridgnorth by building castles at Tamworth and

Stamford. She then extended the western line northward to Eddisbury, in Cheshire, and south-east to Warwick; and next year, 915, north as far as Runcorn and west to Chirbury. Then Edward advanced from the south, building 'both burhs' at Buckingham in 915, taking Bedford two years afterwards, and securing it by a new burh south of the river, in addition to that on the north. The chronology then becomes somewhat obscure owing to variations between the different copies of the Chronicle. But it is clear that the Midland Danes in the area of the Five Boroughs, their stronghold in Central England, were caught between two lines of 'block-houses.' They 'broke out,' but in vain. Derby was taken by Ethelfled by assault; 'there were slain four of her thegns within the gates, which was great sorrow to her.' Leicester then surrendered without a struggle. So far-reaching were the effects of her campaign that York was under promise of surrender when the victorious lady died at Tamworth in 917 or 922, to be buried beside her husband at Gloucester. The advance continued. Edward incorporated Mercia under his direct sovereignty. The Danes unsuccessfully attacked two of the burhs at Wigmore and Towcester, and the latter was therefore strengthened with a stone wall, instead of, presumably, a mere earthwork and palisade, while at Nottingham he built the burh on the south side of the river and a bridge between them. The policy of blockhouses was successful. The Danes gave way on all sides. 'The army' at Cambridge submitted. In 924 the Scots, the Northumbrians, and the Strathclyde Welsh 'chose King Edward for father and lord.'

What exactly is meant by building a burh need not be here discussed at length. It has hitherto been perhaps rather assumed than proved that the mound in the castle grounds at Warwick is Ethelfled's burh, and that all her burhs were mounds, probably with a timber house and palisade at the top. In many places, as at Oxford and Tamworth, we find Norman or later keeps or castles on the tops of the mounds. That the burhs were not always mere earthworks and palisades is, however, proved by the entry in the Saxon Chronicle as to Towcester being afterwards strengthened by a stone wall.

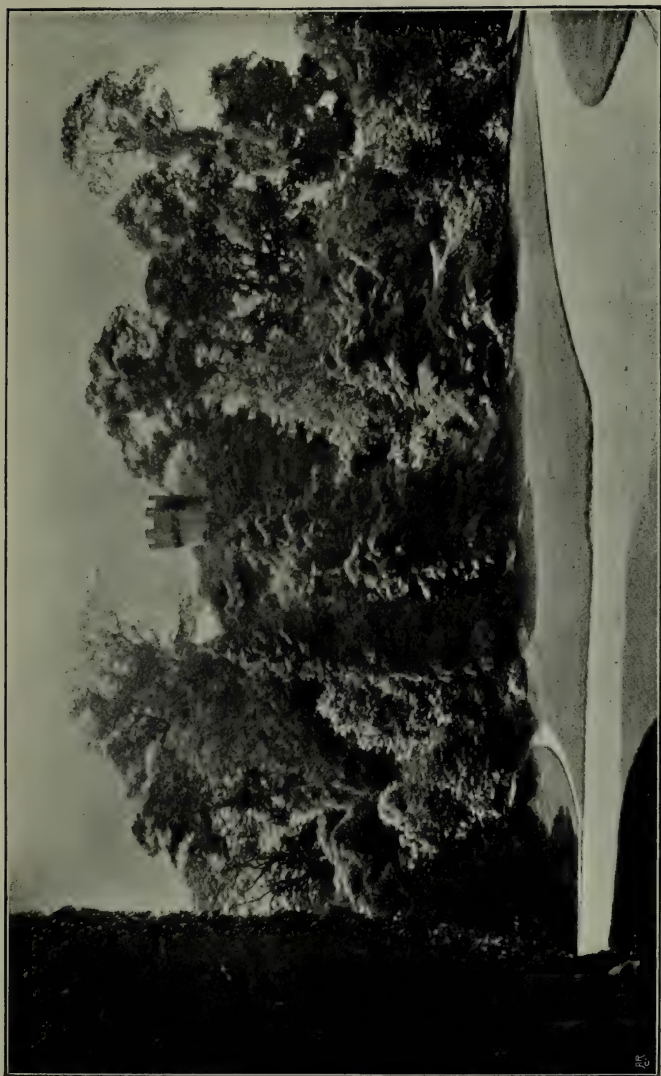
The English origin of the mounds themselves has recently been impeached. The theory is now advanced that the 'castles' of William the Conqueror were not stone keeps and rings of stone walls, but mounds. It is argued that the absence of any building of the Conqueror's date on the mounds shows that the 'castles,' of which Orderic Vitalis marks the absence in England, were these mounds. There are no remains, it is argued, because there were no stone buildings, as it would be impossible to erect a solid stone building on an artificial mound for many years after its first erection. To do so would be to 'build on the sand.' The inevitable settlement would inevitably ruin the building. On the other hand, it is argued, that in some places where a burh is said to have been built, there is now no mound. Hence it is urged that what Ethelfled did was merely to fortify a town or borough with a ditch and palisade, not build a fort on a mound. One may remember, however, in this connection Luther's hymn, 'Ein feste burg ist unser Gott'—'a strong fortress is our God.' Etymologically, burh must be connected with barrow, which inevitably suggests a mound. As the *arx* of the Roman and the *Acropolis* of the Greek witness, an eminence has always been selected as the most eligible site for a fortress. Certain it is that, where there was no natural hill, the mounds remain where Edward and Ethelfled are said to have built burhs—at Oxford and Tamworth, at Stamford and Warwick. Besides, the phrases used in the Chronicle certainly do not look like planting a new fortified town, or merely walling or embanking an existing town. They point emphatically to a new work. Especially is this so in cases such as Buckingham, where we read of building 'both burhs'; or such as Bedford, where a new 'burh' was built south of the river; or as Stamford, where Ethelfled built 'that,' *i.e.* the burh in 913, and in 922 Edward built another burh south of the river; or Nottingham, where Edward built a new 'burh' with a bridge to the old one. It is really too much to ask us to believe that in all these places there were two towns planted one on each side of the river; and that when the second burh was built, it was a new town that was added to protect the old. We might as well believe that the erection of Kruger's

famous fort at Johannesburg was the creation of a new town of burghers to overcrowd the Outlanders.

The existence of the two sets of collegiate churches in so many of these places, one in the town, one in the castle, both appearing in Domesday and both apparently of pre-Conquest origin, strengthens the view that the burh was a fortress. The destruction marked almost everywhere in the extensions of the castles by William the Conqueror shows indeed that Ethelfled's fortifications were out of date; and were probably too small for the powerful 'balistas' and other missile-hurling implements which the progress of the art of war had produced. Even in Warwick, which could hardly have been a fortress of the first class, four houses belonging to the Abbot of Coventry were destroyed¹ 'for the site of the Castle' (*propter situm castelli*), which no doubt must be taken to mean, as Rows takes it, to enlarge the site of the castle; not to create the site for which, from the analogy of other places, four masurae, or mansions, would be wholly inadequate.

Whatever the Lady Ethelfled's burhs may have been, the towns in or by which they were planted are afterwards found as royal boroughs; and at nearly all of them there was to be found a collegiate church and, by consequence, a grammar school. She seems to have aimed at consolidating by arts what she had achieved by arms; educating the heathen when she had subdued them. Thus at Bedford and Bridgnorth, Stafford and Stamford, as well as at Warwick, we find ancient collegiate churches mentioned in Domesday, of the pre-Conquest existence of which there can be little doubt. In many of them there were two collegiate churches, one in the castle, and one in the town. At Stafford, besides the great Church of St.

¹ Oddly enough *The Rows Rol* quotes Domesday as showing that 26 houses of the Abbot of Coventry were destroyed for the site of the Castle. 'The sam King William enlarged the castel, and diked the town and yatyd hyt, and for the enlargyng of the castel were pullyd down among oder xxvj howsys that were tenantyes to the hows of monks of Coventry, as ys wryte playne in Domesday the boke aforeseyd.' Rows either had a bad text, or misunderstood his original, as the text says, 'Abbas de Coventreu xxxvj, et iiij sunt vaste propter situm castelli.' The xxxvj is, however, so closely written in the original as to look at first sight like xxvi; but the number was the total number possessed by the Abbot, and only 4, not 26 were destroyed.



THE LADY ETHELFLED'S MOUND, WARWICK CASTLE.

Mary's in the town, half ruined by Sir Gilbert Scott's 'restoring' touch, the parish of Castle Church still recalls the name of the church in the castle on its mound a mile out of the present town. At Bridgnorth there were churches both in the castle and the town. At Leicester the church of the secular canons of St. Mary in the Castle, though absorbed in the twelfth century in the later abbey of Augustinian canons at St. Mary's in the Meads (*de pratis*), and outshone by the fourteenth century foundation of St. Mary's in the Newark, the new work of the castle, was still collegiate at the dissolution. In all these places we find a grammar school in medieval times.

At Warwick, however, Domesday Book reveals nothing of the church in the castle, and contains only a casual mention of St. Mary's; the reason being, no doubt, that the possessions of either church consisted of churches and tithes, not of lands, and Domesday was a land-tax survey, not a general income-tax schedule. At the date of Domesday, 1086, Warwick was still a royal borough. There was no earl, and the county was only a vice-county or sheriffwick. The king was lord and direct owner of 113¹ out of the 244 houses (*domus*) of which the borough consisted, and took 'geld' from another 112 belonging to various king's barons, of whom a list is given, it being added that 'these mansions (*masuræ*) belong to lands which these barons hold outside the borough and are there assessed.' In fact the Saxon lords seem to have possessed town houses in their county town, annexed to their country seats, and resorted to Warwick as their capital, very much as in the eighteenth century people still resorted to the county towns and to Bath for a winter season, and as country gentlemen now resort to London during the season; though it seems probable that their duties were those of watch and ward in the county and burh, and not merely the amusement of their wives and daughters. Besides these, 'there are in the borough 19 burgesses holding 19 mansions, with sac and soc and all customs, and so held them in the time of King Edward.' In other words, apparently they held in free and common socage and paid no geld directly. 'In King Edward's time the sheriff-

¹ In burgo de Warwic habet rex in dominio suo cxiiij domus et barones regis habent cxij, de quibus omnibus rex habet geldum suum.

wick (*vice-comitatus*) with the borough and the royal manors brought in (*reddebant*) £65 and 36 sextars of honey, or £24. 8s. for all the honey and its appurtenances. Now it is worth, between the rent (*firmam*) of the royal manors and the pleas of the county, £145 a year by weight, with £23 for custom of dogs, 20s. for a sumpter mule, £10 for a hawk, and 100s. for "earnest" (*gersuma*) to the Queen. Besides this they render 24 sextars of honey of the great measure and from the borough 6 sextars of honey, a sextar being worth 15d., of this the Count of Mellend takes 6 sextars and (?or) 5s.' 'The custom of Warwick was that when the king went on an expedition by land 10 burgesses of Warwick went for all the others. Any one warned to go and not going paid a fine of 100s. to the King. If, however, the King went by sea against his enemies, they sent four boatmen (*batsweins*) or £4 in cash (*iiij libras denariorum*).' An early instance this of ship-money levied from an inland town. One can but commiserate the four boatmen or boatswains, who plied their craft in the still waters of the Avon, when they joined the Severn at Tewkesbury and soon found themselves in the turbid estuary of the Bristol Channel, or even the storm-swept waters of the open Atlantic. It would appear that the military service of the burghers had been commuted in William's time, for the sums above mentioned paid for his sport of hunting and hawking. The importance of honey in Domesday is, of course, no surprise to those who remember that Virgil devotes the largest quarter of his poetical treatise on farming, called the *Georgics*, to the cultivation of the bee and its honey. Honey was the sole source of sweetness, and beer and mead the drink of the day, for breakfast, dinner, and supper. It is not surprising, therefore, that honey ranked with bread among the first necessities of life.

Just outside the borough of Warwick was the royal manor of Cotes, formerly held, not by King Edward, but by the Earl Edwin, and apparently in that manor, or on some intermediate land, were one hundred cottagers (*bordarii*) with small gardens or orchards (*hortulis*) paying 50s. a year in all for them, or 6d. apiece. The borough and this suburb, 'together with the third penny of their pleas, paid £17 a year in King Edward's time;

when Robert took it to farm it was worth £30, and now (1085) paid the same with all the appurtenances.'

Warwick was then one of the smallest and least important of midland county-towns. In Domesday it is not even called a city, as were Oxford, Leicester, and Stafford, though all of these subsequently lost the title, and was, of course, far below such great cities as Winchester and Lincoln. Its population and contributions in men and money were all less than its neighbour capitals, except Stafford, though, owing to the ruin that at some undetermined time and for some unknown cause had overtaken Oxford, Warwick contained at the moment of Domesday nearly as many inhabited houses as Oxford. Warwick had 225 houses, and perhaps another 19 held by burgesses, as to which it is not clear whether they are included in the 225 or not, and 21 were waste; while Oxford had 243 inhabited, and 478 waste. Lincoln had some 1064 houses.

In Warwick the largest holder among the king's barons was the Abbot of Coventry, who held 36 houses, besides 4 which were demolished (*uastae*) 'for the site of the Castle.' Then came the Bishop of Worcester and the Count of Meulan (Mellent) and Ralph de Limesi with 9 each; though the latter is only credited with 7 houses in Warwick in the separate detailed account of his lands. Robert of Stafford held 6 houses, and Turchil (such is the Domesday spelling) and Hugo de Grentemaisnil, the Sheriff of Leicestershire, 4 each. The largest landowners in the county, reckoning at least by the number of manors, were first, the Count of Meulan, who held 16; bracketed second, the king, 9; the Abbot of Coventry, 9; then a large bracket of 4 each, by the Bishop of Worcester, 4 (one of his being Stratford-on-Avon); Lady Godiva (Comitissa Godeva), also 4 (one of hers was Coventry itself, but her manors are said to be held by Nicholas, probably Nicholas Balistarius, 'the gunner,' at farm of the king); Turchil of Warwick, 4. Taking the number of separate items of land held by or under them, Turchil of Warwick comes first with 65 holdings, the Count of Meulan next with 63; then Robert of Stafford with 26; the Abbot of Coventry, 19; William, son of Ansculf, 17; Hugh of Grentemaisnil, 16, half of which had been held by one Baldwin in Edward's time; William, son of

Corbucion, 16 ; Goisfrid of Wirce, 12. But while the Count of Meulan's items were mostly in his own holding, Turchil of Warwick's items are, with the exception of six, said to be held of him by other people. Among the most notable of these was Myton, a place close to Warwick, just across the bridge over the Avon, where the school now stands on its own lands. There is some obscurity about the description of this place in Domesday. 'Muitone' is the first item described among the lands of the Count of Meulan. 'The Count of Mellend (*sic*) holds of the King, Myton. There are 2 hides; the arable land is for 8 ploughs. Earl Algar held it. In demesne is one [plough] and two male slaves, 6 villains and 11 bordars with 3 ploughs. There are 2 mills of 70s. and 12 acres of meadow. In King Edward's time it was worth £3, afterwards 40s., and now £6.' But under Turchil's lands 'Moitone' is again described: 'Of the fee of Turchil the Count of Mellend holds Myton.' Its contents are given in identical terms, except that there are said to be '7 villains and 7 cottagers,' and it is said to have been held by Earl Edwin, instead of by Earl Algar; while it is added 'R. Halebold bought this land.' The count could hardly hold the same manor both of the king and of Turchil. There must have been two manors of Myton. Whether there was one Myton manor or two, part of it was at the time of Domesday held by the Church of St. Mary. For, a few items below that last quoted, is the entry, 'Of Turchil the Church of St. Mary of Waruic holds a hide in Moitone. There is land for one plough. There are 3 cottagers with one plough, and a female slave. There are 4 acres of meadow. It was worth 5s., now 10s. Earl Edwin held it.' Earl Algar, or Ælfgar, was the father of Earl Edwin, and this makes the puzzle of the double description of Myton, and the question whether there were two manors of Myton or one, none the easier to solve. Earl Edwin was Earl of the Mercians, brother of Morkar, Earl of Northumberland, whose refusal or neglect to help Harold rendered the Norman Conquest possible and easy. This entry is the only one in which St. Mary's Church is mentioned. It shows that the church was at least as old as Domesday Book; but though an endowment of a hide of land or 120 acres is considerable, yet it affords no

cū. iii. bord. Tōt T. R. E. uatb. iiii. lib. 7 post tnat.
 modo. x. lib. Ordric 7 Aluin 7 Aluric libe tenuer.
 De I. ten' Jonne in ~~bericore~~ u. hōd ~~in~~ ~~bericore~~ hō.
 Tra. ē. iii. cap. In dñio. ē una. 7 ii. serui. 7 iii. uilli
 7 iii. bord cū. ii. cap. Ibi. molin de. iii. sol. 7 vi. ac pā.
 Valut. xx. sol. modo. xl. sol. Aluin 7 pōt. T. tenuer.
 De I. ten' ~~ecclā~~ ~~de~~ ~~Wanunc~~ i. hōd in ~~Martone~~
 Tra. ē. i. cap. Ibi sunt. iii. bord cū. i. cap. 7 una ancilla.
 Ibi. iii. ac pā. Valut. v. sol. modo. x. sol. ^{com} Eduin tenuer.
 De I. ten' Algar. i. hōd 7 dim. Tra. ē. iii. cap. In dñio
 f. d. cap. 7 vi. serui. 7 iii. uilli 7 iii. bord cū. i. cap.
 Ibi. xii. ac pā. Valut. xxx. sol. modo. xl. sol. Aluric
 De I. ten' Ermenfrid ~~in~~ ~~bericore~~ ~~hōd~~ libe tenuer.
 unā hōd in folkei. 7 alodm in Etendope. Tra. ē. i.
 cap. In dñio. ē ipsa cū. i. bord. Valut. x. sold.
 modo. xxv. sol. Almar libe tenuer T. R. E.
 De I. ten' Aluin in ~~Conroue~~ iii. hōd. Tra. ē. vi. cap.
 In dñio sunt. li. 7 iii. serui. 7 ix. uilli 7 x. bord cū
 v. cap. Ibi. xxx. ac pā. Valut 7 uat. iiii. lib.

evidence that St. Mary's was then a collegiate church. The record that Earl Edwin held the land in King Edward's time seems to show that the endowment was not given before the Conquest, but after Edwin's death in 1071 or 1072.¹ The great possessions of Thurkill of Warwick, of which comparatively few are recorded as previously held by him or his father, Alwyn the Sheriff,² also mostly accrued after Earl Edwin's death, Thurkill sharing with the king and the Count of Meulan, not, we hope, as the reward of treachery, most of the manors held by the earl.

It is clear from this that at the time of Domesday there was no Earl of Warwick, that the town was a royal borough and the castle a royal castle. We must, therefore, reject the story of Ordericus Vitalis, accepted by Freeman, echoed by the *Dictionary of National Biography*, that Henry of Newburgh, son of Roger de Beaumont, and brother of the Count of Meulan, was already, in 1067, made custodian of the Castle of Warwick, built by William the Conqueror. Ordericus represents it as the first of the series of castles founded by William, remarking that the lack of castles was the chief reason why the English, brave and warlike as they were, were too weak to resist their enemies. 'And so the King founded a castle at Warwick, and gave it to Henry, son of Roger de Beaumont (Bello monte) to keep.'³ Afterwards he made that at Nottingham.' But if so, it is remarkable that Henry did not at the time of Domesday hold a single rood of land in Warwickshire, or a single house in Warwick, while his elder brother, the Count of Mellent, was the holder of vast estates. It would be still more remarkable that Henry should be made governor of a castle, which was at the time the furthest outpost of Norman power in the unconquered Mercian land, when, even if we credit him with having attained the

¹ Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, iv. 464-5.

² This appears in Domesday under Bertanestane (f. 241a, 1), which is said to be held in pledge by Robert d'Oilgi, the great Oxford lord: 'Ailmar held it, and by the King's licence sold it to Alwin the Sheriff, Turchil's father.'

³ Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, pt. II. iv. 5. *Norman Conquest*, iv. 464-5; followed by the Rev. W. Hunt in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

remarkable age, for those times, of seventy years at his death in 1123, he would have been barely fourteen.

The great medieval historian of Warwick and its earls, John Rows, who may be called the father of scientific antiquarianism in England, for if he does not give actually chapter and verse, he at all events gives general references to his authorities for all his assertions, supports the statement that the Conqueror gave the castle to Henry of Newburgh, and says that Henry¹ was by 'the grete benevolens of the Conqueror made "Earl of Warrewik" and lord of the sayd burgh.' He prefaces the statement, however, by saying that it was 'by tittle of his lady and wyfe, Dame Marguerite, daughter and eyr to Lord Thurkyl.'² Thurkyl, however, was not Earl, but only Sheriff of Warwick, and Domesday is conclusive evidence that there was no Earl of Warwick at that time. Moreover, Rows candidly admits³ that he could find no charter from the Conqueror to show for the creation of the earldom. He makes, too, a statement absolutely irreconcilable with the grant of the custody of the castle to Henry of Newburgh in 1067. Henry, he tells us, was 'a Normande born, ner cosyn both to Seynt Edward, Kyng of England, and also to Kyng William the Conqueror, and yn his hosold browte up⁴ of a chyld with the seyd King William yongest son, called Henry Beauclerk; and after, by the grete menys and besy labers of the sayd Earl Henry, to whom he was play-ferer,⁵ the forsaid Herri Beauclerk was exaltid to the crown of England.' Now, Henry I.'s chief title to the crown, as against his elder brother Robert, was his being 'born in the purple,' born in England after his father became king of England, that is, after 1067, when Queen Matilda first came over from Normandy. Henry was, according to Ordericus Vitalis, thirty years old when he

¹ *The Rows Rol.* Ed. by William Courthope, Somerset Herald. London: W. Pickering, 1845. No. 31.

² *Ibid.* No. 30.

³ *The Rows Rol.* Latin. College of Arms. *St. George's MSS.*, iv. 83. Ad visum tamen carte creacionis hujus comitis nunquam potui attingere.

⁴ 'Household brought up.'

⁵ Play-mate. The proper word is 'Playfeere.' The Latin Roll says the Conqueror 'nutrivit eum cum juniore filio suo postea Rege Anglie, Henrico primo.'

was crowned, and was born therefore in 1069. It is fairly obvious that Henry's contemporary and 'play-fellow' could not have been present at the battle of Hastings, or have been the governor of a castle before Henry was born, or governor of a frontier fortress at the age of three or thereabouts.

The fact is that Henry of Newburgh does not make his appearance in English history during the Conqueror's reign at all. In 1080 he was a Baron of the Exchequer, not in England, but in Normandy,¹ having been perhaps, like King Henry 'Beauclerk,' brought up as a clerk. If he was made Earl of Warwick by the Conqueror, it must have been after the date of Domesday, in the last two years of the Conqueror's reign.² But it is a great deal more probable that he received the earldom from William Rufus. His earliest appearance as Earl of Warwick is in the *Abingdon Abbey Chronicle*. Some time in the reign of William the Conqueror, Thurkil of Warwick, or, as the *Abingdon Chronicle* calls him, Turkil of Arden,³ had granted to Abbot Adhelm (a usurper put in by William on the imprisonment by him of the last English abbot in 1069, who was a friend of Turkil's), some land at Chesterton in Warwickshire, a place which its name implies to have been a Roman station, on the Foss Way. This grant was confirmed by Siward his son, 'then a youth,' and by the Conqueror.⁴ But 'the inheritance of Turkil of Arden was given by William junior at the beginning of his reign to augment the earldom of Henry, Earl of Warwick.' Earl Henry accordingly claimed from Abbot Rainold the lands as his own, as having been Turkil's. His claim seems to have been good, as while Hille is put down in Domesday

¹ Floquet's *Essai sur l'Exchiquier de Normandie*, p. 11.

² Mr. Round dates a charter to Préaux Abbey, witnessed by Henry and his brother, as being by William I. c. 1085, but he does not give the words of the grant.

³ *Abingdon Chronicle* (Rolls Series), II. 8. 'Sicut Turchillus de Earden eidem (the abbot) ecclesiam in elesmosina dedit.' Turchil is described as 'Turkillus quidam de Anglis valde inter suos nobilis, in partibus Ardene mansitans, Abbatis familiaritate et fratrum dum nonnunquam uteretur, de patrimonio suo terras duobus in locis ecclesie Abendonie concessit, quorum una Cestratun, altera Hille, filio ipsius Siwardo tunc siquidem adolescente paternum concessum confirmante.'

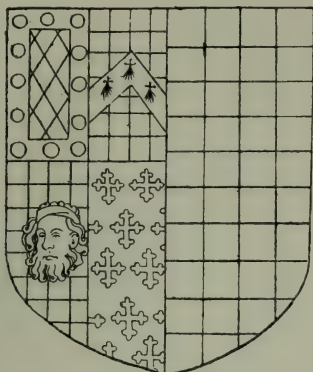
⁴ *Ibid.*

as a possession of the Abbot of Abingdon, and bought by him from Turkil, Chesterton is included under Turkil's lands, and one hide is said to be held by the abbot from Turkil, while another is said to be held by him 'in pledge,' that is, as mortgagee. However, Earl Henry's claim was appeased by a mark of gold, and he executed a deed confirming the property to the abbey, which deed was witnessed, it may be noted with a view to future transactions, by, among others, 'Herlwin, priest,' and Richard, chaplain. Abbot Rainold succeeded Abbot Adhelm in 1085, so that it was after this, not before, and certainly not so early as Domesday, that Henry of Newburgh had become Earl of Warwick. For it is on William Rufus's death that Henry of Newburgh suddenly comes to the front as being mainly instrumental in procuring the recognition of Henry I. at Winchester.

Ordericus Vitalis imputes the part played by Henry of Newburgh to his brother Robert, saying that 'Henry hastened to London with Robert, Count of Mellent,' and that 'he wisely followed the advice of his seniors, namely, Robert, Count of Mellent.' But here again, as in the matter of the custody of Warwick Castle, Ordericus has apparently reversed the position of the two brothers. For William of Malmesbury says that Henry was elected¹ 'chiefly by the help of Henry, Earl of Warwick, an upright and religious man, with whom he had long had familiar intercourse.' Malmesbury is confirmed by records. In Henry's coronation charter and again in the letter of recall to Anselm, the first lay witness is Earl Henry, and the next Simon, Earl of Northampton, while the Count of Meulan does not appear at all. In 1101, when Robert, Duke of Normandy invaded England, Robert, Count of Meulan, who was more interested in Normandy than England, and, from Ordericus Vitalis's account, lived habitually in Normandy, in his turn came to the front, not as a partisan of King Henry, but as a peacemaker between his two lords, Duke Robert and King Henry. On Ivo de Grantmesnil's leaving England in consequence of his share in the rebellion, the Count of Meulan obtained his Leicester possessions on

¹ *Gesta Regum*, v. § 393. 'Annitente maxime Comite Warwicensi Henrico, viro integro et sancto, cujus familiari jamdudum usus fuerat contubernio.'

mortgage, and kept or acquired them in fee after Ivo's death on his way to the crusades. It is doubtful if the Grant-



*Roger of Newburgh,
Earl of Warwick,
who united the Colleges of
All Saints' and St. Mary's
and their Schools, 1123.*

The Rows Rol, 32.

mesnils ever were Earls of Leicester, though they took the 'third penny' of the county revenues. Robert, Count of

Meulan, apparently was never called Earl of Leicester, though Orderic describes him as being made 'Consul' of Leicester, affected Latin for count, when he got the Grantmesnil lands. In his charter¹ granting the right to have a gild merchant to his merchant men of Leicester, he describes himself as Count of Mellent, and is so called in a writ to the Sheriff of Oxford directing that 'the men of Robert, Earl of Leicester, should be free of customs, as they were in the time of the Count of Mellent.' But that may of course only mean that Robert went by the Norman title which was used as the more distinguished. For on Robert's death on 1118 his possessions were divided between his twin sons, of whom Robert became at once Earl of Leicester and English, while Waleran, the other, became Count of Meulan and remained Norman. It seems probable that when Robert became Earl of Leicester, Henry of Newburgh became Earl of Warwick as the reward of acting, like his great successor in the fifteenth century, as a king-maker; and, like King Henry himself, marrying an English wife, if indeed his wife was Turkil's daughter.²

¹ Miss Bateson's *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, C. J. Clay, 1899.

² Of which there is no evidence. It is, on the other hand, certain that he married Margaret, daughter of Geoffrey, Count of Perche.

Henr. Com. Warwiche. Prelatus & Sacerdos. Sacerdos.
 qd Ego p salute mea. & Magistree uxoris mee. & omnium
 parentu & antecessoru meoru. dedi eccliam de Lincold. &
 omibz pamentis suis libe & quiete ppe Helmo. &
 beate Marie de Warwiche. & hac ma carta confirmans.
 sit omi tempore & prebenda uny. canonicoru ibi do fructu
 su. huius autem donacionis fo testes Magistrea uxor ma.
 Willm de Wyke. Tustan de Wyke. Hugo filius
 Ric. Henr. senescallus.



GRANT OF HENRY OF NEWBURGH, FIRST EARL OF WARWICK,
 TO ST. MARY'S, ABOUT 1110.

CHAPTER III

UNION OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCHES OF ALL SAINTS AND ST. MARY

PROBABLY St. Mary's was founded, and was at all events enlarged, by the Count of Meulan. It was certainly earlier than the earldom of Warwick, but almost certainly later than the Conquest. The earliest grants of Earl Henry to St. Mary's are long after the days of the Conqueror, and not early in the days of Henry I. To these, and to their bearing on the history of church and school, we now return.

In what seems to be the earliest of these deeds¹ 'Henry, Earl (*comes*) of Warwick,' calls all, present and future, to witness that he 'has given for his own salvation, and that of Margaret his wife, and of his parents and ancestors, the church of Compton (Cumtona), with all its appurtenances, freely and quietly (quiete, *i.e.* quit of rent, tolls, or taxes), in perpetual alms to the Church of St. Mary of Warwick,' and that he confirms it by that deed 'to the intent that it may be for all time a prebend for one of the canons serving God there.' The witnesses were Margaret his wife, Siward of Arden, Thurstan de Montfort, Hugh Richardson, Henry the butler (*dapifero*).² Siward of Arden is, no doubt, the son of Thurkill of Arden or Warwick.³ Hugh Richardson may be a son of Osbern Richard-

¹ *Chart.*, f. 7b. It is not part of the original MS., but is an insertion on a flyleaf in an early sixteenth-century hand. Since this was written, it has transpired, from a facsimile of it given in Lady Warwick's *History of the Earls of Warwick* (Hutchinson and Co., 1903), i. 66, that the original is at Warwick Castle, whence, no doubt, it was copied in the sixteenth century.

² So in this copy in the Chartulary. But in the original the witnesses are given in the nominative case, 'Hi sunt testes,' and the last is Henricus Seneschallus, the steward.

³ *Norman Conquest*, iv. 782, quoting *Abingdon Historia*, II. viii. 20-21.

son, one of the Domesday landholders, who was perhaps a Fleming, as he was settled with nine Flemings at Easton, formerly held by Earl Elgar. Compton was, in Domesday, one of the manors of the Count of Meulan, and its being now in the possession of his brother suggests that on the death of Roger of Beaumont, the elder brother, the Count of Meulan took the ancestral estates in Normandy, and gave up the newly acquired possessions in England to the younger. A similar division took place between the English and Norman estates on the death of Robert de Meulan, the elder son becoming Count of Meulan, and the younger Earl of Leicester; just as Robert, the elder son of the Conqueror, became Duke of Normandy, and his younger brother William, King of England. Domesday records that there were in Compton 7 slaves and 14 villains, with a priest, so that there was already an endowed church there.

The next deed is wordier and more magniloquent. It was witnessed by ecclesiastics. 'Henry, by the mercy of God, Consul of Warwick, Margaret my wife, and Roger our son,' grant to William 'my chaplain, all his holding, that which he holds in alms as a prebend, that which he holds as a (lay?) fee.' The 'alms,' or endowment as we should say, were 'whatever Herlewin the priest, William's ancestor' (these were days when celibacy had not yet been enforced on the clergy of England; and *antecessor* may well mean ancestor in blood, and not merely predecessor in title), 'held in church benefices, and a tithe of the toll of Warwick and of Ledsham mill.'¹ The tithe of the toll of Warwick (we are specially informed) Herlewin had not held, probably for the very good reason that it had belonged to the king, and had not been the earl's to give. The 'fees' were the land of Brailes (Braeles), the land on which he dwells, and a small house in Cotes. 'All these Herlewin held free of all claims from the earl or his men, great or small.' All these things, so far as they were ecclesiastical, 'Theoldus,' Bishop of Worcester, and Hugh, his Archdeacon, witnessed and confirmed. The witnesses are headed

¹ Mr. T. Kemp suggests that this is now represented by a piece of land called Ladsum, at Bridge End, now covered with water, in respect of which the Earl of Warwick sends yearly a fat buck to Oken's Feast.

by four chaplains of the bishop, Gregory, the earl's doctor (medico, he was no doubt a clerk or ecclesiastic), Mr. Seuard or Seward, Wimund, the earl's chaplain, and Ralph, Salid, and Edwin, each described as canon, but whether of All Saints', St. Mary's, or of the Priory of the Holy Sepulchre, which Earl Henry had founded, does not appear. The lay witnesses are headed by Daufenisus (perhaps a Dauphin or man from Dauphiné), Anchetil, son of Robert, Hugh Richardson, whom we have met before, Peter Williamson, and Siward, son of Turkil, the Siward of Arden of the last deed. Then after Nicholas of David town (David villa) came 'Randolph, master of Lord Roger,' the young lord Roger's tutor, though it is odd that he should be found among the laymen, as the tutor must have been pretty certainly a clerk, though not in holy orders. We can hardly claim him, though it is tempting to do so, as an early master of the Grammar School. The fact of Roger's being still young enough to have a tutor, though old enough to execute a deed, is another argument against his father being of age to act as Governor of Warwick Castle in 1067. There are more than a dozen other witnesses, whose names do not call for remark, except that Edwin Prepositus must be translated Edwin the bailiff, not Provost of one of the collegiate churches, or he would have signed among the ecclesiastics. It is noteworthy that the fees granted were at the time of Domesday royal manors. Cotes was the populous suburb of Warwick.

The date of this deed cannot be determined more exactly than as being between 15 June 1115, the date of the Bishop of Worcester's accession, and June 1123, the date of Earl Henry's death. It is not clear what the exact purport of the deeds is: whether they represent the beginning of the 'collegiating' of St. Mary's, or whether they merely record the addition of two prebends to a church already collegiate, consisting, that is, of several canons who were also prebendaries. There is a *tertium quid* which they may portend, and that is the separation into prebends or separate estates of a church already collegiate, but in which the canons had a common estate and not separate prebends. On the whole, and seeing that Herlewin was the earl's sole chaplain at the time of the confirma-

tion of Chesterton to Abingdon Abbey, and that Compton was at all events a new possession of the earl's since Domesday Book, the probability is that these deeds represent one of the earliest stages in the creation of a new collegiate church of St. Mary, its conversion from the living of one parson into a college of several parsons, augmented by new gifts—first, the tithe of the toll of the borough of Warwick and of Ledsham mill; and next, the church of Compton.

These are the only deeds of Earl Henry. It will be observed that they concern St. Mary's only, and not All Saints' at all.

Rows, however, says of Earl Henry: 'Special benefactor he was to the Colleges of Hallows in the Castle and of our Lady without the Castle in Warwick, and both he increased with prebends, and proposed to have made one college of them both as he had lived.' But 'he died 20 June 1123, and is buried at Preaus,¹ by Pont Odimere, in Normandi.' He was succeeded by his son Roger, whom Rows describes as 'Earl of Warwick and of Newburgh, a holy man that divers times in his own person visited the Holy Land. He fulfilled the virtuous purpose of his father, making one college of that of All Hallow in the castle and St. Mary in the town of Warwick.' It is improbable that Rows had any further knowledge than we have of what actually took place, and he probably derived his knowledge from the same deeds, though he had the advantage, perhaps, of the actual documents, and not merely their copies in the Charulary. But the writ of Henry I. seems to show that the original intention was simply to oust the College of All Saints' in favour of St. Mary's, until the royal writ foiled that intention. For there seems every reason to think that the College of All Saints' in the Castle, and not St. Mary's, was the original and mother church of Warwick. Rows, indeed, gives the palm of antiquity to the Church of St. John the Baptist in the Market stead. This, he says, which 'in olde evidences was called the monasteri of Seynt Johan the Baptist,' had been founded by 'Sanctus Cardocus, seynt Craddok'—better known as Caractacus—'a mighty prince in his day, especially in the County of Hereford.' When 'his day' may have been,

¹ Préaux, by Pont Audemer, where was a priory of the foundation of the Beaumonts.

Rows does not vouchsafe to inform us, and only vaguely says that he had his story 'owt of Powisland by Welsh cronicles.' That St. John's was an ancient church is certain. Its parson, Everard, called 'Everard of St. John' in one deed,¹ and 'Everard, priest'² in another, was one of the witnesses to a series of grants to St. Mary's in the twelfth century. That it may have been called 'monasterium' or 'monasteriolum,' in Latin, a term used to translate the English minster, which was specially appropriated to churches of the secular, not the regular, clergy, there is no reason to doubt. There is,³ however, equally ancient evidence of the existence of several other churches in Warwick. Besides, though Rows seems to impute greater antiquity to St. John's, he does not claim it as the mother church. He imputes the foundation of All Saints' in the Castle to St. Dubricius,³ 'in the Welsh tongue called Seynt Deueroik, a grete letturde man, bishop of thys borowh, than a noble cyte called Cayrgwayre. . . . His see pontifical was then at Alhalow Church in the Castel, and soo hyt contynued a colage tyl aftur the Conquest threscore yere, and then was hyt joyned to the College of our lady wyth in the town, and of thes ij colages were made on.' Dubricius, the 'high saint' of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, is a little too mythical a person for us, and had a little too wonderful a career. For, after consecrating a mythical St. Sampson, Archbishop of York, who went to 'lytyll Britain,' and was then Bishop of Dol, Dubricius went to Wales and was first Bishop of Llandaff, then Archbishop of Cærleon, and finally ended his days as a hermit in the island of Steephholm in the Severn. Rows's statement, 'this I had in Englisey (Anglesey) and Powisland,' only recalls to us those terribly prosaic romances of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which for centuries perverted all our earlier history. This story is of a piece with that of St. Craddock.

The title of All Saints' to be the mother church of Warwick rests on the surer foundation of written documents. First in importance is the writ of Henry I. above mentioned,⁴ confirming to the church its judicial and educational rights as they existed in the days of King Edward—proof positive of the

¹ *Chart.*, f. 10 a and b.

² *Ibid.*

³ *The Rows Rol*, No. 6.

pre-Conquest existence of the church. But the indisputable evidence of the existence of St. Mary's in Domesday Book while there is no mention of All Saints', coupled with the grant of the very same rights of ordeal and school by Earl Roger to St. Mary's, might throw doubt on the prior title of All Saints'.

Evidence, however, connected with a third church, which proved a rival to both the older ones, is strongly in favour of All Saints'. This was the Priory of St. Helen's or of the Holy Sepulchre. Earl Henry, Rows tells us, was 'Founder of the Priory of Warwick, Sepulchris, that was hed hows thorowt England of that ordre,' viz. the Order of Augustinian Canons of the Holy Sepulchre. The Augustinian canons were the fashionable order at the beginning of the twelfth century, being a compromise between the monks who were (in theory) confined to their convents, and were useless to the outside world, to which they were legally and practically dead, and the secular canons who lived in houses like ordinary folk, and, like the parochial clergy, moved in the world, and like them at that date had wives and families. The Augustinian canons were bound to celibacy and poverty like the monks, and like them lived in cloisters, but they were allowed to serve ordinary cures of souls and to go out into the world. Their special function at first was to look after the hospitals for the sick. The canons of St. Sepulchre were clerical offshoots of the order of the Hospitallers or Knights of St. John, developed at the taking of Jerusalem in 1099.

'The order of "Black Canons" was first introduced into England at Colchester, then at London and then in other places. And so Earl Henry of Warwick at the request of the Jerusalemites founded a Priory of the Holy Sepulchre of Canons regular at Warwick. For it was then that the Christians took the Holy Land and instituted Canons in the church of the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord. These Canons only differed from other Canons regular in having a double red Cross on the breast of their cope. And this the Canons of St. Sepulchre of Warwick still wear. This was the first house and the superior of others throughout England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland until the second destruction of Jerusalem, and then nearly all the houses of this order disappeared.

In those days the Prior of Warwick wore a grey furred amice and a pastoral staff, and held collections for the aid of the Holy Land with large indulgences. But when they disappeared the order fell into poverty. There were anciently houses of this order at Thetford, Winchester,¹ Wentbridge and many other places. The profit of the collections and the privileges were transferred to the Order of the Friars of the Trinity, to which belonged the Friars of St. Robert of Knaresborough, Houndslow, Telasford (Tellesford) and many others.'²

Unfortunately, when the Normans made new foundations, they seldom did so without, partially at least, robbing the old ones. The Priory of the Holy Sepulchre was no exception to this rule, as we learn from divers documents in St. Mary's Chartulary. These show that the priory was founded in the Church of St. Helen which was one of the churches in the parish of All Saints' and belonged to and was apparently a chapel of the mother church in the castle. Bishop Whittlesey in 1367 held an inquiry at Warwick as to the churches which had formerly been granted to St. Mary's, 'when the College was translated from the Castle to the place it then occupied,' and, after taking evidence before a mixed jury of clerics and laymen, found that among the churches originally belonging to it were those of St. Helen and of Gretham in Rutland. While certain other churches were restored to St. Mary's, these two, as having been appropriated to the Priory of St. Sepulchre by decrees of former bishops, confirmed by papal bulls, were declared irrecoverable, subject to the obligation on the priory to maintain a subdeacon in the collegiate church. This inquiry speaks only of St. Mary's. But it refers to a decision of Bishop Simon, a copy of which has been fortunately preserved,³ though not in St. Mary's Chartulary. It states

¹ This means St. Cross Hospital by Winchester, the possession of which was long a subject of dispute between the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and the Bishops of Winchester, and finally awarded by the Crown to the latter.

² Rows's *Historia Regum Angliæ*, p. 137. Ed. Hearne. Oxford, 1745.

³ *Harl. MS.* 7505, f. 14a, from a collection of MSS. formerly belonging to Mr. Fisher of Warwick, which, with other Warwickshire MSS., perished in a fire at the Birmingham Public Library, in 1879. This fire was fatal to much Warwickshire history.

that Bishop Simon had dedicated the altar in St. Sepulchre's Church, and a cemetery 'for the burial only of the brethren serving God there in the habit of Canons, at the order of King Henry, with the willing assent of Earl Roger and the Canons of All Saints' Church, *in whose parish the said Church was founded*. But in order that *the mother church of All Saints*, and also the church of St. Mary, might not suffer any damage or loss in tithes, burial-fees, offerings, confessions or visitations of the sick, or other customary profits (*beneficiis*) belonging to the said mother churches, the Prior was bound to pay 30d. a year on All Saints' Day to the church of All Saints.' This agreement was solemnly confirmed by the Pope and Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford,¹ a non-resident canon of All Saints', in two letters addressed to the bishop and his fellow-canons respectively, which are preserved in St. Mary's Chartulary. The canons of St. Sepulchre afterwards tried to withhold the payment to which they had agreed, and in spite of a writ² from Henry II., appealed to the Pope, who appointed the Bishop of Hereford, Gilbert Foliot,³ and Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Worcester, delegates to try the case. For once the regulars were worsted and held to their bargain, and the pension of half a crown a year was solemnly confirmed to the then united church of All Saints and St. Mary.

All Saints' in the Castle was therefore the real mother church of Warwick, which, one can hardly doubt, owed its pre-eminence to being the creation of Ethelfled, when she 'built the burh' at Warwick. The reason given by Earl Roger for the attempted grant of the school to St. Mary's Church, 'that the service of the Church may be improved by the attendance of scholars,' corroborates the inference already

¹ According to Le Neve's *Fasti*, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, occurs in 1104, and again in 1151, when he was succeeded by Robert Foliot, afterwards Bishop of Hereford. This document must be about 1123.

² *Chart.*, f. 17a. The writ is dated at Vire in Normandy and witnessed by Thomas [à Becket] as Chancellor, Robert of Newburgh, and Richard of Hum [mez], constable. Its date is therefore between 1154 and 1163.

³ *Sentencia definitiva Episcopi Herefordensis et Archidiaconi Wigorniensis super eadem causa, auctoritate apostolica.* *Chart.*, f. 18a. As Gilbert, the bishop named in it, was translated to London in 1163, the date is between 1154 and that date.

drawn that the grant was one of something new to benefit a new establishment.

The reason which made the earls favour St. Mary's at the expense of All Saints' was no doubt the same as that which had caused the destruction of the four houses, recorded in Domesday, the want of more room in the castle. Probably the newer church of St. Mary was also the larger. When, however, the canons of All Saints' were successful in their appeal against the usurpation of their rights, the earl had to proceed in a more regular way, and to transfer the canons of All Saints', with their own consent, to the new church. This consent would, no doubt, be readily obtained, as if it were inconvenient for the earl to have the canons in the castle among his family and dependants, it must have been still more inconvenient for the canons to be in the castle among a Norman soldiery. It was the experience of similar inconveniences which made the bishop and canons of Salisbury, a century later, move Salisbury Cathedral from Old Sarum to the new Salisbury in the meadows below.

The legal transfer of All Saints' and its union with St. Mary's were effected by three documents: two of them executed by the earl on the same day, and the third a confirmation by the bishop.

In the first place, by a deed—the copy of which, in the Chartulary, is headed with a large cross with four dots in the intersections of its arms—the earl granted authority for a dean and chapter to be held in St. Mary's.¹

'I, Roger, Consul of Warwick, by the grace of God and St. Mary and All Saints, for the soul's health of my father and of my parents (*parentum*, used apparently in the French sense for family generally), firmly and steadfastly (*constanter*) grant to my canons of Warwick to have a Dean and Chapter and brotherly meeting, and I will, and on God's behalf grant, that they may serve God in the Church of St. Mary after the manner of Canons, and may hold all their possessions as freely and quietly as the Canons of London

¹ Apparently this is the first deed, as it is headed in the Chartulary, f., 'Prima Concessio Domini Rogeri Comititis de Decano et Capitulo habendo in ecclesia Beate Marie Warwicensis.'

and Lincoln and Salisbury and York are said to hold their possessions in ecclesiastical fashion. Of which thing these are witnesses, Hugh Richardson, and Thurstan of Montfort, Siward, son of Turchil, Geoffrey de la Mar and Peter Williamson and Anschetill Richardson and R. of Munnevilla (Mandevilla) and R. de Bortona,' etc.

This was followed, no doubt on the same day, by the second deed, formally granting to the clerks of the two churches the right to live together in St. Mary's, and setting out as a grant to the Church of St. Mary's the possessions of the two churches.

'In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity be it known to all sons of the Holy Church of God, present and to come, that in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord, 1123, in the reign of King Henry, Earl Roger, having obtained the Consulship of Warwick, there to the honour of God and in reverence to God's holy mother Mary, and All Saints, for the soul of King William, Conqueror of England, and his wife Queen Matilda, and their son King William the Second, and in future memory of the soul of King Henry, William his eldest son and his wife Queen Matilda, and for their children, and in memory of the soul of Roger of Beumont (Belmund) and his wife Aelma, and for the soul of Earl Henry his father, who first began this, and in memory of R. Count of Mellent and all the faithful departed, arranged (*disposuit*) that the clerks of the church of St. Mary of Warwick and the clerks of All Saints', which was situated in the Castle, by the advice and assent and at the devout petition of the clerks of the said Church of All Saints, and equally with the deliberation of Simon, Bishop of Worcester, that they and their successors for ever may serve God and St. Mary diligently day and night after the fashion of canons in the aforesaid Church of St. Mary, keeping the integrity of their prebends. And for the necessities of living gave them these.'

And then follows a list of the possessions of the church, to which we will return presently, ending up with 'And the school (*scolas*) of Warwick and the ordeals of fire and water and battle, and the land of Wimund the chaplain.' That is to say, the dispute as to the right to manage the school and the trial by ordeals, the Saxon method, and the trial by battle, a

Prima concessio dñi Rogeri Comitis de Deane
et capitulo hñs in ecclia de warre Wareham

11.

In nomine patris & filij & sps scđi amen.
Ego Roger' consil' Warwicenses grā dñi & scđi warre &
omñi orōy & p salute anime patris mei & parentū meorū
firmiter & consanter concedo canoniciis meis Warwici habe-
re decimā & capitulū & fraternū conventum; & gold & ex parte
dñi pcpno ut in ecclia scđi warre more canonicoy dñi serui-
ant & ita libere & quiete omēs res suas obtineant; sicut
Condemenses canonici & Lincolnienses & Salesberienenses &
Eboracenses sua ecclia sicut dicunt obtinere & huius
rei testes sunt. Hugo filius Ric' & Estan' de monte forti-
sissimus filius Ric'. Galfred' de la mare & petrus filius Ric'
& Anshelst filius Ric' & Ric' de minnenilla & Ric' de Bortona.
22.

Data vñs dñi Rogeri de possessionib' & libertatib' dñi
& concessis ecclie de warre Warw' & de tñssacō collegij m-
castri ad dñm ecclesiam

In nomine scđe et mēdūcie trinitatis Notū est omibz
scđi dñi ecclie filiis p'sentib' & futuris qm' ab incarnatione dñi.
m. C. xxm. regnante Henrē Rege Rogius com' adpt' consilariū
Wareham ibi in honore dñi & scđi genitricis warre & omñiū
orōy ueracione p' aia Ric' Regis Anglie exignatoris eius
warre regine uatildis & eorū filij Ric' scđi scđi Regis atq' in
fina memoria aie. h. Regis Ric' p'oris filij & ei' uxoris Ric'
uatildis scđe & p' eorū scđis & p' recordacōe aie Ric' de
Belmund' & ei' uxoris Adelme. & p' aia Henrē com' sin patris
qui prius hoc instituit. & p' recordacōe aie Ric' comitis mēst.
& omñi fidelū defunctorū disposuit quaten' dñm ecclie scđi m.
de Wareh' & clerici omñi orōy q' sita est in castello & filio.
& assensu & deuotis peticionibz clericorū p'dice ecclie omi orōy

12.

1123

Norman innovation, involving the same appeal to God and superstition in the more objectionable form of sheer force, was now settled by being vested in the united Church and Chapter of St. Mary and All Saints. The witnesses were the same as in the previous deed, establishing the chapter in St. Mary's, a fairly conclusive proof that they were executed on the same day.

The Church gave its sanction to the arrangement in a deed of Simon, the Bishop of Worcester. His preamble shows that there had been disputes, and that his consent was not procured for some time after the earl's deed.

'The holy authority of the Fathers warns us that we should give sedulous attention to matters concerning the benefit of our churches, so that they may be nurtured in surer peace, and the zeal of the clergy of the churches in divine offices be more earnest. Hence it is that in the third year of our bishopric we have translated all the clerks whom we found in the church of All Saints, Warwick, and all their ecclesiastical property, because that place seemed to us to be too uncomfortable (*importunius*), because of the Castle in which it was situated, to the mother¹ church of St. Mary of Warwick, which also was consecrated to the honour of the Virgin Mary and All Saints. So, having held a council of religious men, and at the request and with the willing assent of Roger, Earl of Warwick, moved also by the devout demands of the said clerks, that they and their successors, keeping their prebends intact, may for ever serve God and St. Mary with the rest of the clerks of the same church, which all these clerks alike promised and confirmed in Christ; we have established also in the same church that they may have a Chapter and assembly of brethren and a Dean, and the same liberties which the church of London freely enjoys, or Lincoln or any other church of the like foundation.'

The transaction was completed by the sanction of a bull of Innocent II., Pope from 1130 to 1143, a vacant space for which, never filled in, was left in the Chartulary. The bull is, however, referred to in one of Eugenius III., dated 1 June 1146, confirming all the possessions of the church and the agreement between St. Mary's and St. Sepulchre's, and

¹ i.e. Which has now become the mother church.

forbidding any secular person to intervene in the election of the dean, a prohibition aimed perhaps at some attempt on the part of the earl to treat the deanery as his private patronage.

The schedule of property granted to the united church is interesting. Unfortunately it does not distinguish as between the two churches which formerly possessed it: but it is probable that the property of St. Mary's is first recited. First came the churches of St. Nicholas and St. Lawrence with 10 acres of land and a mansion; St. Michael's church with 5 acres of land and 3 mansions; and the church of St. Sepulchre and St. Helen. Next, two-thirds of the tithe of Bedford (Bedeford, a royal manor in Domesday) from the inland; in Wellesbourne (Welesburn, called Waleborne in Domesday, when it belonged to the king) two-thirds of the tithe of inland, and kirk-scot (Chireset, misprinted in the *Monasticon* Chireset; it is probably the right to mortuaries or corse-presents, the best chattel of the deceased); in Hardwick (Herdewic) and by Long Bridge, two¹ plough-lands (*carucatas terre*); in Charlcote (in Domesday a Mellent manor) half a hide and tithes of the demesne and of two mills; in Fullbrook (Fulebroc, another Mellent manor) half a hide and two-thirds of the tithe of the mill; in Snitterfield (Snitarfeld, Snitefeld in Domesday, a Mellent manor) a hide and two-thirds of the tithe of inland, and of the pannage (swine-feed) of the wood; in Sherborne (Sireburna, Scireburne in Domesday) half a hide and two-thirds of the tithe of inland; in Milverton (Mulvertona) half a hide, and the whole tithe of the fee of the Earl of Warwick; in Cotes the whole tithe of the mill and of everything quick or dead, and the tithe of two carucates, which are in Stockhill and Woodlane (*Stoculla et Wudulan*); in Compton (*i.e.* Compton Murdac) two-thirds of the tithe of inland; in Walton Theodoric (later Walton D'Eivile) the whole tithe of the demesne and of one mill, which settles it as being the Walton held before Domesday by Saxi and in Domesday by the Count of Mellent; and in Walton Spilebert (later Walton Maudit) two-thirds of the tithe of inland and of two mills; In the meadows of Burford (Berefort) six acres and two gores,

¹ In the copy of Bishop Simon's deed this appears as one carucate only.

and the same in the meadow of Alrefort. In and outside Warwick the property comprised 60 houses (*mansiunculas*), being no less than a sixth of the whole inhabited houses.

This apparently ends the list of the possessions of one of the two churches, presumably that of St. Mary. For the list begins again with the Church of Gretham, which, as we have seen, was a possession of All Saints' Church; the Church of St. John, and the Church of St. Peter, with a mansion. St. John's Church was in the market-place. St. Peter's Church was somewhere near the castle; it was not till the fifteenth century¹ that it was rebuilt over the East Gate. Besides this, there was the Church of Budbrook (Budebroc) and the whole tithe of the manor or town (villa). Next comes the tithe of the rent² of Warwick borough, the same tithe which we saw granted by Earl Henry, as the tithe of the toll of Warwick, to William his chaplain, a hide in Heath and half a hide in Caldecot.

Then comes the all-important item for our purposes. In the earl's grant it runs: 'The school of Warwick and the ordeals of iron and water and of duel, and the land of Wimund the Chaplain.' In the bishop's confirmation it runs: 'The school of Warwick and the ordeals of iron and water and 100 acres in Cotes, and the church of St. James over Warwick Gate; and the land of Wimund the chaplain, and the whole parish inside and outside Warwick.' This reference to the whole parish inside and outside Warwick is an interesting confirmation of the rights of All Saints' as the mother church, while the reference to St. James's over the West Gate of Warwick seems to show that the town as well as the castle was fortified. The reference to the land of Wimund the chaplain appears to include the land at Brailes which we saw had been granted by Earl Henry to his chaplain William, which grant had been witnessed by Wimund. Probably Wimund had succeeded William in the prebend granted him, and this mention incidentally shows that William and Wimund were prebendaries of All Saints', and that Herlewin had been one before them.

¹ *Notices of the Churches of Warwickshire*, 1848, p. 5.

² 'Redditus' in the earl's grant, 'renta' in the bishop's confirmation.

The grant of the school is, it will be observed, in the same terms as in the grant to St. Mary's by Earl Roger, and, except for the addition of 'the duel,' also in the same terms as in the confirmation to All Saints' by King Henry.

The dispute as to the school was now set at rest. The united church of St. Mary and All Saints obtained the undisputed right to the maintenance of Warwick School. If for a short time there had been two schools, one in connection with the old mother church of All Saints, and one in connection with the newer church of St. Mary, they now become one. But it seems more probable that there never had been two schools, the attempt of Earl Roger to transfer the school to St. Mary's having been frustrated. At all events, from 1123 until 1544, one grammar school remained part and parcel of the one college.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONSTITUTION OF ST. MARY'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH,

1123-1544

WHAT the establishment of the united church precisely was we cannot learn from the documents themselves. The earl's grant says vaguely that the college was to be on the model of London, Lincoln, Salisbury, and York. The bishop's confirmation says with equal vagueness that the college was to be on the model of London or Lincoln, or other churches of like constitution. In other words, it was to be like other college-churches of secular canons. The usual constitution of these churches was that of a dean, and a number of canons or prebendaries, who formed the chapter or college and were its governing body. There were four officers, the dean, precentor, chancellor, and sacrist or treasurer, who were generally called dignitaries, and, in most of the churches named, were canons, who, in virtue of holding those offices, took precedence of other canons. Below the canons were an equal number of vicars choral, who were the deputies of the canons to perform the services for them when absent (which they most commonly were), a parish priest, and a certain number of inferior clerks and of choristers. Attached to the church, and acting also as vicars choral, were a varying number of chantry priests, but these last were on separate or by-foundations, and not on the original foundation of the college-church.

Some interesting light is thrown on the powers and duties of the dean and chapter by a letter from the dean and chapter of Salisbury, of about the year 1155, preserved in the Warwick Chartulary. In the same way as Oxford and other boroughs were given their liberties by reference to the privileges of the city of London, and when any question arose appealed to the

model borough, so, Warwick church having been given its liberties by reference to other churches of secular canons, the chapter naturally wrote to one of the model churches to find out the practice prevailing there. It is a remarkable proof of the early fame of the 'Sarum use' that the chapter of Warwick took as their model, not the nearer chapters of Lichfield, Lincoln, or London, but the distant Salisbury. As this is perhaps the earliest recorded statement of the kind, earlier by a century than the reference of the dean and chapter of Glasgow¹ to Salisbury, and earlier by half a century than the appeal, in 1212, of the dean and chapter of Moray to Lincoln, for the like purpose, it is given in full. It begins in august style.

'Henry, by the grace of God, Dean of the church of Salisbury, and the Chapter of Salisbury, to their beloved brethren the canons of Warwick Church, greeting.

'Of the liberties and customs of our church of which your brotherhood wishes to be certified we answer you under each heading (*capitula*) as follows :

'The Dean is promoted by the election of the canons, nor do the Dean or canons or any member of the choir answer anywhere but in their chapter, where the canons are the sole judges.

'A canon dying ought to leave his prebend the same as he received it as regards its stock: but for the rest the pen of his last will is free. A dead man's prebend passes to the use of the canons; but if the deceased is oppressed by debts, the third part is set aside to meet the debts, or, if there are no debts, is given to the poor for his soul, and this for a year. The churches or chapels of prebends, and the clergy serving in them, neither pay episcopal dues nor answer to the archdeacons in anything. A parishioner of another parish is not under the jurisdiction of the Dean or Chapter. A Dean or a canon has the whole liberty in disposing of his churches, in receiving priests, and all

¹ Wilkins's *Concilia*, i. 741. *Glasgow Episcopal Register*, Maitland Club, i. No. 211. An earlier instance of the same kind is when, in 1212, the dean and chapter of Moray, i.e. of Elgin Cathedral, wrote to Lincoln: Wilkins's *Concilia*, i. 534-9; *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club, 1837), pp. 44-58; *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, Bradshaw and Wordsworth, 1897, ii. p. 136. But even that was fifty years later than this reference.

other matters that archdeacons have in their archdeaconries. For a canon is archdeacon of his prebend and has the cure [of souls] of his men.

‘Scholars stand or fall to their own master.

‘As to the obsequies for the soul of a deceased Bishop or canon with respect to which you are solicitous, we desire to be altogether solicitous. Farewell, and pray for us as we for you.’

The date of this letter is about 1155, as Henry, the Dean of Salisbury named in it, became Bishop of Bayeux in 1165, and a papal bull of 1157, which, as we have seen, specially forbade any ecclesiastical or secular person to interfere in the election of a dean, was probably founded on this letter, which was clearly written during a vacancy in the deanery at Warwick.

The question of the jurisdiction of the archdeacon of Worcester was stoutly disputed, and there are bulls of Pope Innocent II. (?) and Clement v., and an inhibition from the court of Canterbury, against successive archdeacons.¹ They, long after the archdeacon had abandoned the claim of jurisdiction against St. Mary's itself, as late as 1323, tried to assert it in its dependent chapels or churches of SS. Nicholas, Lawrence, Peter, John, and James in Warwick itself. But it was quite beneath the dignity of such great persons as canons to be subject to the jurisdiction of archdeacons with their troublesome and expensive² visitations. When Eton College was founded, the exemption from archi-diaconal jurisdiction was equally obtained, and Eton College still pays 6s. 8d. a year to the Archdeacon of Bucks in consideration of his loss of fees by the exemption.

We may note, without comment for the present, the important statement referring to the school, that ‘to their own master the scholars stand or fall.’ It means that the master alone, not the chapter or the archdeacon, exercised jurisdiction over the scholars.

There is no certain indication as to the number of the canons at Warwick before, nor for a long time after, the union of the two collegiate churches. The number of canons about

¹ *Chart.*, f. 24b to 26b.

² ‘Purse is the Archdeacon's hell,’ says the Summoner in the *Canterbury Tales*.

this time at St. Paul's, London, was 30;¹ at Lincoln, 42;² at Salisbury, 32;³ at York, 36.⁴ But there is no reason to think that Warwick had anything like these numbers.

We find in the Chartulary⁵ grants referring to the chapel of Maitone, *i.e.* Myton, and 'the canons serving in the same,' the recovery from Robert Curli of the church of Budebroc,⁶ *i.e.* Budbrook, and its lease 'to a canon, namely to him personally and not as a prebend.' Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, as one of the canons, consented⁷ to the union of St. Mary's and All Saints'. Henry II. directed William, Earl of Warwick, 1153-84, to see that William de Orebuto, canon, obtained seisin of a tenement which Eilric, his predecessor, held. In the time of Earl Waleran, 1184-1205, Reginald Malesmayne and Roger of Charlecot, canons, made an agreement as to dividing the tithes of the demesnes of William de Daivile and of the earldom of Warwick. When about the same time the convent of Bordesley disputed with St. Mary's, Warwick, the right to the tithes of Budiford (Budford), the monastery agreed to pay fifteen shillings a year 'to the prebend of Nicholas, canon of Warwick, nephew of Nicholas, Archdeacon of Coventry, which used to belong to John the chaplain,' and this agreement was witnessed by 'Jordan and William, canons of Warwick.'

At about the same time we find John de Sancto Admundo, canon of St. Mary's, making a grant for the soul of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been given the presentation to the prebends during his life.

These are all the references to individual canons which occur in the twelfth century: they do not indicate a very large number of canons, nor did the early collegiate churches in general possess a large number.

The number seven was the usual number of members of a

¹ Originally including the bishop.

² It was, however, only 21 in 1091; but 54 in 1200; and 58, excluding the bishops, in 1383; now 53. Wordsworth, *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, Part ii. 796.

³ *Ibid.* ii. c. n.; but in 1229 it had been raised to 52. *Reg. Osmund*, ii. 104.

⁴ In 1295, *York Cathedral Statutes*. But at the Conquest there were only 7.

⁵ *Chart.*, f. 9a.

⁶ *Ibid.* f. 9a-18a.

⁷ *Ibid.* f. 16b.

collegiate church of secular canons in old times—derived ultimately from the seven deacons in the seven churches of Ephesus, and immediately from the seven priests that are common among the Celtic Culdee establishments of Columba and others by whom the greater part of Britain was christianised. We see illustrations of it in the seven churches so called—they are mere hovels of chapels—at many places in Ireland, such as Clonmacnoise on the Shannon and the seven churches near Glendalough in Wicklow.

Seven was the original number of the canons at York Minster;¹ at St. Chad's Cathedral, Lichfield; at Beverley,² and Southwell Minsters,³ and at Wolverhampton. The vast cathedral establishments founded after the Conquest, such as Lincoln and Salisbury, with their scores of canons, were of later development. It would seem from the reference in the 'Union' document at Warwick to the canons of All Saints' retaining their prebends after the transfer to St. Mary's that the original practice of the canons holding all things in common and having a common table had already disappeared at Warwick, and that the estates of the church had already been apportioned out among the canons as separate prebends. The word prebend means provision, and is the same as provender; we often hear in medieval documents of prebends for so many horses.

The prebends were the provision or estates assigned to the individual canons, who, in virtue of holding them, acquired the title of prebendaries. At most places these prebendaries acquired territorial titles from the places in which their principal estates lay. So we get the canons and prebendaries of Kentish Town and Finsbury at St. Paul's, of Fridaythorpe and Stillington at York, of Bedford and Leicester at Lincoln. At Warwick there are not wanting indications of a tendency to this territorial designation. Compton was, as we have seen, granted by Earl Henry for a prebend for a canon of St.

¹ *History of the Church of York*, edited by Canon Raine (Rolls Series), ii. 107.

² *Memorials of Beverley Minster* (Surtees Society), 1893, edited by A. F. Leach, i. xxxix.

³ *Memorials of Southwell Minster* (Camden Society), 1890, edited by A. F. Leach.

Mary's; and in 1347¹ Mr. John of Bukyngham, 'prebendary of Compton Murdak, in the collegiate church of the Blessed Mary of Warwick,' presented Nicholas of Southam to the rectory of Budbrook, and in 1375² his successor, Richard of Pyriton, 'prebendary of the prebend of Compton Mordake,' presented Philip Keys to the same living. In 1340³ the site for the College of the Vicars-Choral was said to be recovered from 'Adam de Hernyngton, prebendary of Shirbone in St. Mary's Church, Warwick.'

But at Warwick, as at Beverley Minster, the more usual custom seems to have been to describe the prebends by the name of the holder or of former holders. So we find incidentally in the Chartulary a grant from Earl Roger⁴ to 'Mr. John of £4, 10s. a year from the rent of Warwick and land at Longbridge and his house with the right to hold a manorial court, and, moreover, all liberty over his men so that they shall not plead on any plaint (*querela*) pertaining to me or mine, but only in the court of Master John.' The same property was granted by Earl William to Nicholas, the king's chaplain, under the description of 'the prebend formerly John's,' and by Earl Waleran to Nicholas Brito, under the description of 'the prebend late John's and Nicholas', the King's chaplains.' This is perhaps the prebend described in Pope Nicholas's Taxation one hundred years later as 'belonging to Nicholas, and formerly Warren's.' As time went on this method of description no doubt became exceedingly cumbrous. It is not till a century later that we get anything like a list of the prebends. A valuation made about 1280 gives the following canons or prebendaries and the prebends held by each:—

Mr. Thomas Sekyndon, prebend valued at 15 marks, <i>i.e.</i>	£10	0	0	a year.
Mr. Robert Pleysy,	9	£6	0	0
Osmond,	6½	£4	6	8
Warin [of Chaucombe],	5	£3	6	8
Richard of Preston,	3	£2	0	0
William of Beauchamp (Bellocampo),	4	£2	13	4

¹ *Reg. Sede vacante*, f. 125d.

² *Ibid.* f. 196.

³ *Chart.*, f. lv., Pro loco collegii in quo Vicarii simul inhabitant.

⁴ *Chart.*, No. 8, f. 10b.

In 1282 the dean and canons of Warwick denied the right of the Bishop of Worcester, Godfrey Giffard, to visit them. They were excommunicated and appealed to the court of Canterbury, but the Dean of Arches found against them and they had to pay 20 marks costs.¹ The bishop visited on 5 October 1284, and, quite in the episcopal manner, marked his victory by a sermon on the text, 'Thy heart shall suffer visions unless a visitation shall have issued from the Most Highest by His Holy Spirit,' which, if it meant anything but a pun on the word visitation, made the bishop equivalent to the Holy Ghost.

In the following year a reconstruction of the church was apparently under consideration, and it is in a document relating to it that we get the earliest definite statement as to the number of the canons.

We find² the bishop writing on 25 September 1285 to his 'cousin and friend,' the Earl of Warwick, as to what churches should be chosen, either in his own or in other dioceses, to complete the number of 13 prebends, including the old ones, 'which are at present 10 only'; and suggests Wykewane and Salewarp for two of the three, and that the advowson should be given to the bishop. But the letter concludes that the bishop has not proceeded further in the matter, especially as the churches in the diocese, the advowsons of which are held by the earl, are reputed so poor. Here, then, we learn that ten was the number of the prebends, a larger number than the records before or after would have suggested.

In 1291 there was a general valuation of all ecclesiastical benefices, commonly known as Pope Nicholas's Taxation, because it was made with a view to ascertain the amount of the tenths or tithes of the yearly value of benefices ordinarily payable to the popes, but granted by Pope Nicholas to Edward I. for two years to enable him to prepare for a crusade, which never took place. The valuation was actually made by, that is under the direction of, the Bishops

¹ *Reg. Giffard*, f. 219b.

² *Reg. Giffard*, f. 233b. The abstract given in the printed edition of the Register is misleading. It omits the important passage about the existing number altogether.

of Winchester and London. In this document we find the Warwick prebends described as:—

The prebend formerly of Robert de Plescy,	worth £10	0	0	a year.
„ „ of Sir Ralph of Hingham,	„	6	0	0 „
„ „ „ Nicholas, formerly Warren's (Warini),	„	3	6	8 „
„ „ „ Robert of Northampton,	„	4	6	8 „
„ „ „ Peter of Leicester,	„	3	6	8 „
„ „ „ the Prior of St. Sepulchre's, Warwick,	„	0	6	8 „

It would thus appear that there were only six prebends, including the merely honorary one of the prior of St. Sepulchre's.

The statement as to the poverty of the prebends is fully borne out by a letter of 3 June 1256 by the bishop to Peter of Leicester, one of his domestic chaplains and steward of his estates,¹ whom he had instituted rector of Budbrook in 1282,² and who was a canon of Warwick. The bishop says that Leicester's fellow-canons support him in the allegation that the revenue of his prebend is so small (*exilis*) that it is quite impossible that he should reside either permanently or temporarily, since it does not exceed five shillings a year, and therefore he annexes the rectory of Budbrook to the prebend during Peter's life, in the hope that his energy and industry will supply its defects and retrieve the alienations which have taken place owing to the negligence of others. Next year this annexation was revoked owing to the ingratitude of Peter, and the bishop attempted to deprive him of Preston Bagot, which he held, while William of Pickerel was told not to take Peter's advice on anything, lest he too should be ungrateful. In 1289 he was made to surrender Cleeve Church, getting, however, a prebend at Westbury instead; but on appeal to Canterbury Peter won, and the bishop had to pay him £60 compensation.³

Nor was Peter of Leicester the only canon who failed to reside through the poverty of his prebend, nor was this poverty and non-residence anything new.

There is in Giffard's *Register* a document which is described in the printed *Register* of the Bishop as 'a transcript of Ordinances as to the Dean and canons of Warwick, which,

¹ *Reg. Giffard*, f. 204b.

² *Ibid.* f. 153.

³ *Ibid.* f. 377b.

so far as they can be made out, refer to the poverty of the house and the grant of prebends for their support.' In point of fact the document is perfectly legible, except where the outer portion of the page has been burnt off, and it certainly does not contain any grant of prebends. 'Whereas by the ancient constitution and approved customs of the church, as we found by inquiry when exercising our duty on a recent visitation, the canons and the Dean, elected by them, ought to reside serving God in person day and night, they have since, through the connivance or negligence of the bishops, so far withdrawn their presence that they have left only six conducts¹ celebrating there, who used to live on the offerings of the altar and suchlike casual profits and on the common stock, and now even, we grieve to say, the church is brought to such poverty through the poverty of the parishioners and burgesses, and through the dearness of provisions which has now continued for several years, that these offerings can no longer support them, and their number, too, is diminished.' For remedy, the bishop ordered the number of six chaplains to be restored, and assigned £4 from the prebend of John de Plesseto, 4 marks (£3, 6s. 8d.) from the prebend of Robert de Plesseto, the Plescy of Pope Nicholas's Taxation, and a fifth part of each of the other prebends, except those of Mr. Hosmund² and the Prior of St. Sepulchre's, who had to keep certain deputies, so as to produce a sum of £21 and 23s. 8d. in all, or thereabouts. Five chaplains were to divide this sum, in certain proportions, which the mutilation of the page conceals. The sixth, who was to be sacrist, was to be the rector of St. John's, Warwick, the Church of St. John in the market-place, and was to retain the cure, but his parishioners were to attend St. Mary's for service. The bishop reserved the right of annexing a prebend to the deanery when it fell vacant.

¹ *Capellanos conducticios*, hired chaplains, having no permanent institution. The three chaplains of Winchester College were so called in opposition to the ten 'perpetual' fellows. Thence the term went to Eton, where the chaplains still are, or at least were in the Statutes of 1874, called 'conducts.'

² He is elsewhere called Osmund. The uncertainty of the letter H, in the mouths even of educated persons, in mediæval English, equalled that heard in the elementary schools nowadays.

The bishop had, it seems, intended further endowments to Warwick as to Westbury Collegiate Church, which later he tried to erect into a second cathedral church, so as to have a secular chapter, much in the same way as the Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield had established Lichfield as a counterpoise to monkish Coventry, and the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Wells as against Bath, and as the Archbishops Hubert and Baldwin of Canterbury had tried to supersede Canterbury by a great college at Lambeth. But the monks were still too strong, and all these projects were defeated by their opposition abetted by the popes.¹

The good intentions of the earl and the bishop for Warwick never took effect. It was not till the days of Earl Thomas Beauchamp, who spent the ransoms and the spoils of Crecy and Poitiers on the rebuilding of his ancestral college church, that any change took place. In 1349 he granted to the dean and chapter the rectory of Pilardynghton. Nearly twenty years later, at his request, an exhaustive inquiry was held by Bishop William of Whittlesey on the benefices anciently granted to the college at its foundation, and since lost, and set out in a great document of 24 December 1367.² The finding of the inquisition was that the college had been endowed with the Church of St. Helen in Warwick, and Greetham in Rutland, and the Churches of St. Michael, St. John, St. Peter, and St. Lawrence, St. James over the West Gate, and St. Nicholas in Warwick, and the neighbouring Church of Budbrook. St. Helen's could not be restored because it had become the site of the Priory of the Holy Sepulchre, and Greetham Church had been appropriated to it, subject only to the maintenance of a subdeacon in St. Mary's, at the priory's expense. The other churches are discussed in order. To all of them the dean, with one or more of the prebendaries, presented. St. Michael's had only three parishioners, and its value barely amounted to a mark a year; its church was nearly in ruins, and it had a very small churchyard, in which few bodies were buried. St John's, in the middle of the market-place, had no churchyard or right of burial; there was no rectory-house, and it was barely worth 4

¹ *Reg. Giffard*, f. 388, 420, 471.

² P.R.O. Augmentation Office, Misc. Books, 492.

marks a year. St. Peter's, situate in the Carfax (*in quadrivio*) of the town, the place where the two principal streets intersected, in like manner had no rectory-house, no churchyard or burial rights, and was worth barely 5 marks. St. Lawrence had a churchyard, but its rector only had a third of the tithes great and small, the dean and one prebendary taking two-thirds of the great, and the chapter, as a whole, two-thirds of the small tithes. The rectory was worth scarcely £5 a year. Budbrook rectory was worth £10 a year; there was a vicarage to which the rector appointed, he himself being appointed by one of the prebendaries. St. James's over the Gate had long been vacant, having very few parishioners, no churchyard or burial rights, and was worth scarcely 20s. a year.

St. Nicholas's, on the other hand, was divided between three rectors or portioners (*porcionarii*), whom we may conjecture to have been the representatives of the canons mentioned as serving in Myton Chapel at the time of the foundation of the college: one in the patronage of the dean, one of the prebendary of Richard of Pyrinton's prebend, and the other of the prebendary of Robert Miles's prebend. It had a churchyard and burial rights and a fair number (*moderatam multitudinem*) of parishioners, and was nearly equally divisible in two parts, one on the further, the other on the hither side of the bridge.

As a result, the whole of the rectories of these churches were united, annexed, and appropriated to the college; and except in the cases of St. Nicholas and Budbrook, the parishes were abolished, the parishioners being directed to attend St. Mary's as their parish church, there being plenty of room in it for the whole population, as the town of Warwick is not very large (*non est multum spaciosa*), and long before the first epidemic (*priorem epidimecam*), i.e. the black death, they had all been bound by a papal bull to attend St. Mary's on Sundays and feast days.

Images of the saints to which the five churches were dedicated were to be erected at as many separate altars in St. Mary's, and the prebends, now limited to five, were to be called after them, the prebendaries being directed to pay special devotion to the saint and saint's day after which his prebend was named. This was probably an imitation of the similar

rule at Beverley, where from ancient time the prebends had been called after saints, and each prebendary had his separate altar called after the saint; but there the parishes attached to the altars stretched far into the country in all directions. The net result of these appropriations was an increase of the prebends by about £26 a year, besides the value of St. Nicholas's rectory, which is unfortunately not stated, but was returned in 1535 at £20, 6s. 8d.

It is to be noted that at this time there were only five canons besides the dean. This was because of the appropriation of one prebend and the Church of St. Helen to the prior of St. Sepulchre's, which, having been confirmed by papal bulls and episcopal sanction, could not be recovered for St. Mary's. It was not an unusual thing for a neighbouring abbot or prior, though they were regular and not secular clergy, to be given a stall and a prebend in a cathedral or collegiate church. Thus the prior of Thurgarton had a stall in Southwell Minster,¹ the prior of Hexham had one at York, the prior of Wilmington one at Chichester, and the French abbots of Grestain and Lyra had prebends in Wells Cathedral. In 1396, when Bishop Tideman held a visitation of St. Mary's, the prior of St. Sepulchre's asserted his right to appear as a member of the chapter, but his claim was disallowed and he was ordered to retire. The number of five canons remained to the end, and that was the number pensioned off on the surrender of the college to Henry VIII.

The recovered churches were not allowed to fall into the possession of the several prebendaries, but became a part of the 'common fund.' The bishop drew a moving picture of the way in which the ancient equality and 'common life of clerks according to the apostolic rule' had given place to inequalities of separate prebends. 'So that while one of the canons of the said college labours under starvation, another labours under repletion, one having a prebend fatter than three others put together, while the Dean of the place, who by rights is the head of the college and higher in honour than the rest, has for his portion a stipend scarcely equal to that of a

¹ See my *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster* (Camden Society), 1891, p. xxix.

simple priest, and while he alone is bound to the burdens of continual residence, which are many and heavy, the canons who have the fat prebends do not care to reside, and those who have the lean ones are not able to do so.' So the bishop, at the request of the earl as patron and with the consent of all concerned, effected a complete revolution in the constitution of the college. He directed that 'the fruits, rents, and income of all the prebends and all the possessions of the college, spiritual and temporal, shall like those of the venerable church of Exeter and the Chapel Royal at Westminster'—that is, St. Stephen's Collegiate Church under the palace, afterwards the House of Commons—'be henceforth gathered into a common exchequer in the custody of a treasurer.' The treasurer was to be a residentiary canon, appointed by the chapter to hold at pleasure. The revenues were to be divided as follows: every non-resident canon was to receive £2 a year, and the residents 20 marks or £13, 6s. 8d. Residence was defined to mean presence at all the canonical hours on five days a week, but the two days a week's absence might be accumulated, so that practically residence meant a little less than nine months in a year. The dean was bound to reside and was to receive 40 marks or £26, 13s. 4d. a year, while each of the six vicars-choral was to receive 10 marks or £6, 13s. 4d. a year. The salaries of other ministers were to be determined by the chapter. Any residue was to be divided in the usual way among the residentiary canons. A further innovation was that the dean, instead of being elected by the canons, was to be appointed by the earl; and the vicars-choral were to be appointed, not by the individual canons, but by the chapter, consisting of the dean and residentiary canons, and one resident canon might constitute a chapter.

As this was only considered a recovery of lost or stolen property, it would appear that no royal licence was obtained, but the transaction was carried out entirely by the bishop's ordinance, with the result that in 1399-1401 the chapter had to obtain the necessary licences.

It is probable that Earl Thomas had further augmentations in view, but as he died little more than a year after these statutes, and was buried under the sumptuous tomb which

still stands in the middle of the choir, nothing more was done. A generation later his sons, Earl Thomas and Sir William Beauchamp of Elmsley, who rebuilt the now destroyed nave as their father had the choir, found further endowment necessary if the status of the canons was to correspond to the stateliness of the church. Accordingly, in the years 1391-93, Earl Thomas granted it the rectory and manor of Haselore and the rectories of Wolfhamcote, in Warwickshire, and Wittlesford, in Cambridgeshire, while William granted those of Spellesbury and Chaddesley Corbet, under a licence of Richard II., and they were united and incorporated with St. Mary's by a bull of Pope Boniface in 1389,¹ though the legal proceedings necessary were not complete till 1393. These additions formed by far the largest portion of the endowment of the collegiate church, some £210 out of a total of about £334 a year at the time of the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535.

In spite of this addition,² in another quarter of a century, in 1415, the financial condition of the college again demanded episcopal intervention. The non-resident canons had been receiving £10 a year instead of £2 as prescribed by Whittlesey's statutes, not leaving enough for the ordinary charges on the college. So it was ordered that for the future the treasurer should pay all charges first and then divide the residue among the canons, at a fixed rate for every day of residence, but so that none 'except one or a few' should get more than 20 marks, £13, 6s. 8d.; while non-residents were to abate a shilling of the statutory £2 for every 6s. 8d. which the residents fell short of £13, 6s. 8d., so that if a residentiary only got £6, 13s. 4d. the non-resident would only receive £1. But, on the other hand, every one was to reckon every day at which he was present in his canonical habit at matins to the end of lauds, or at high mass, or vespers and compline, as a day of residence. Full residence was 260 days, but any one might reckon any days; only, if he took daily payments as resident, he was not also to receive stipend as non-resident.

Any residue, after paying all the canons and placing £20 to the reserve fund, might be divided among the residentiaries.

¹ *Chart.*, f. 79b.

² *Exch. Misc. Book*, 492, and *Chart.* 219, in which the date 1415 is given.

At the same time it was stated that the statute as to names of prebends was not observed, and it was ordered to be observed and that the prebends should rank in the following order: St. Michael's, St. Peter's, St. John's, St. James's, and St. Lawrence's; while the images of St. James and St. Lawrence not yet provided were to be provided. The treasurer was to be a residentiary unless there were no residents, when he was to be chosen from non-residents, but must reside at least a month in each quarter. The six choristers were to be boarded and lodged in the houses of the dean or of the residentiary canons or of the vicars, as they thought best, each canon being responsible for the chorister of his stall, and they were to have £2 a year allowed for food and clothes. A vicar-choral who shirked service was fined $\frac{1}{2}$ d., or for high mass 1d., while clerks and choristers who did so were flogged.

The canons of Warwick, like the canons of other college churches, lived in separate houses near the church. The picturesque old building known as the College, in which, as will be seen, the school was for many years housed, and which was sold and wantonly destroyed in 1880, was not, as is commonly reputed, the mansion of the canons, but of their vicars-choral. The canons did not live in a common house, or share a common table, like monks, for the very good reason that in early times, and until the middle of the twelfth century, they were mostly married men. Living in holy matrimony, and having private property, were the unpardonable luxury and criminality which provoked the wrath of the monkish prelates, Dunstan and Ethelwold, and caused the expulsion of the canons from Winchester and Worcester and Canterbury, and the substitution of monks in their place, and made the monk William of Malmesbury talk of the cathedrals which remained secular, like St. Paul's and York, as 'stables of clerks.' When, in the middle of the twelfth century, the celibacy of the clergy was finally enforced in England, the custom of separate houses was too firmly established to be overthrown, even if it had been thought desirable to do so. Moreover, not a few of the clergy even after that date retained, under the name of housekeepers or hearthfellows (*focariae*), ladies who were wives all but in name. The earliest mention of a canon's

house is in the grant of Earl Roger before mentioned to Master John of '4d. rent, which he used to pay for the mansion in which he lives, and which I have granted and given him in alms,' *i.e.* the tenure known as frankalmoign, free from all feudal services, and subject only to divine service and praying for the donor. Earl William, in an undated grant,¹ but which, as his uncle Geoffrey and William Bassett, sheriff of Warwickshire, witnessed it, was probably nearer 1153, the beginning, than 1184, the end of his reign, granted to 'Nicholas, the King's chaplain, the prebend formerly John's,' which comprised 'the stone house which was the said John's,' and Earl Waleran's grant of the same prebend to Nicholas Brito included 'the stone house.' So that there is no doubt that the canon of this prebend enjoyed a separate mansion from the beginning.

The grant by Earl William to William of St. Peter's of a house² is perhaps the grant of a rectory-house for St. Peter's Church rather than a prebendal house. The rectory-house became college property in 1367.

But the grant by the same earl³ to Richard, son of Ascur, Dean of Warwick—a dean hitherto unknown—of five mesuages, with toll and team and sac and soc and infangethef, that is, with complete manorial jurisdiction, must mean a grant, or more probably a confirmation, to the dean and chapter of five prebendal mansions. In the statutes made in 1415⁴ a house (*mansionem*), opposite the west end of the church 'formerly Thomas Knight's,' was assigned for the residence of the treasurer, or bursar of the college, at a rent of 6s. 8d. a year, to be applied in repairs of the house. Thomas Knight was a canon and prebendary of St. James's prebend from 14 July 1392 to 30 July 1414,⁵ and was himself treasurer in 1399.⁶ In a rental at Michaelmas 1424⁷ is the item 'from the Treasurer of St. Mary's church, Warwick, for the place in which he lives, a rose.' A rose was a common rent for what in later legal jargon is more prosaically termed a peppercorn, *i.e.* a nominal rent. The

¹ *Chart.*, f. 41b.

² *Ibid.*, f. 37b.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 41b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 219.

⁵ *Worcester Reg.*, Wakefield and Peverell under dates.

⁶ *Chart.*, f. 232.

⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 32b.

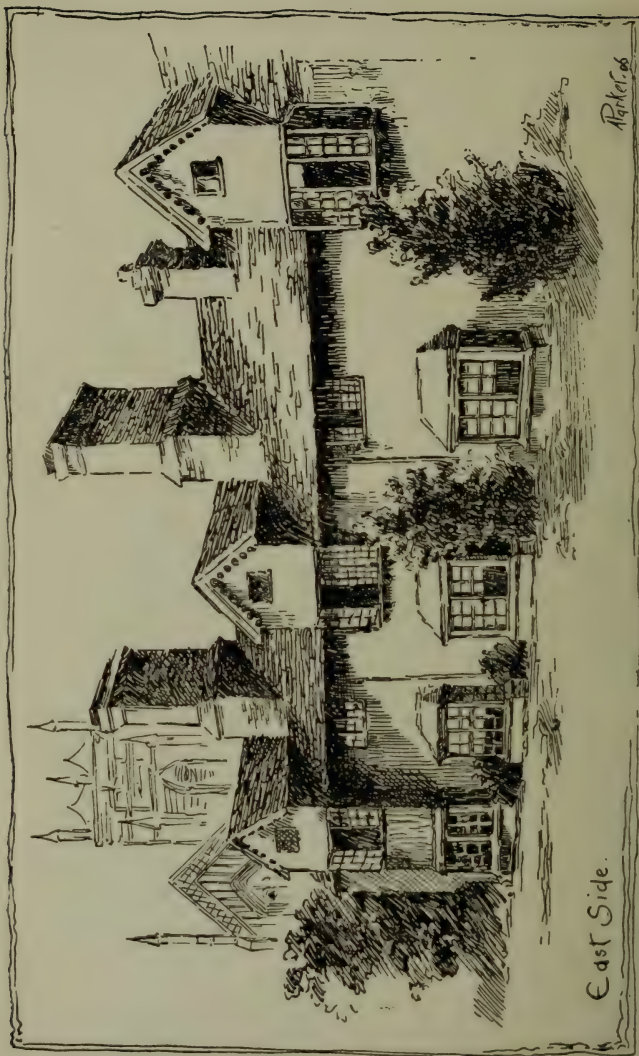
deanery, it is well known, is now the vicarage. In 1305 Nicholas of Kinton (Kynton), of Warwick, and his wife, released to Mr. Robert Tankard, clerk, and his successors, a piece (*placea*) of land which lay between land of Alan of Benekastre and land which the said Roger held in right of his deanery. This release is headed in the Chartulary, 'a release of a piece of the Deanery garden.'¹ Immediately after the dissolution in 1544, the 'Dean's house,' which the dean was allowed to occupy rent free up to 24 June 1544, was let² for £2 a year, a very large house rent, to Richard Catesby, Esquire, and on 14 February 1545 it was sold by the king to Richard, Roger, and Robert Taverner.³ Three canons' houses, those of Canons Wall, Vaughan, and Whittington, are described as being in North Street, and these canons were also allowed them rent free up to 24 June, and afterwards rented them at £1 a year. Vaughan's house was granted to the burgesses of Warwick, 15 May 1545, and became the vicarage.

The 'Vicars coralls' house,' as it is called at the dissolution, was quite distinct. It was probably built about 1340, and had been apparently a canon's prebendal house. For in the Chartulary of the college, under the heading, 'For the place in which the vicars dwell together,' is a writ issuing from the Court of Common Pleas to the Sheriff of Warwick, dated 18 November 1339, testifying that the dean and chapter had in the court at Westminster recovered seisin from Adam of Herwynton, prebendary of the prebend of Shirborne in St. Mary's, Warwick, of a messuage and its appurtenances in Warwick, through the default of the same Adam, as of the right of their church, without any collusion between them, as was found by a jury at Warwick held before William of Shareshull on the Saturday before Michaelmas last; and the sheriff was therefore

¹ *Chart.*, f. 42. Relaxacio de quadam particula gardini Decani. Roger Tankard, a burgess, was one of the witnesses, while Hugh Tankard was the official of the Archdeacon of Worcester in 1327.

² P. R. O. Ministers' Accounts, 35-6, Henry VIII., No. 197.

³ *Ibid.* 36-7, Henry VIII. Mr. Kemp, in *A History of Warwick and its People*, p. 208, says, 'It does not appear when the Corporation, as representatives of the old Dean and Chapter, parted with the Deanery.' This is because they never had it. The corporation became the representatives of the dean and chapter only to the extent of the very limited grant to be presently mentioned.



College of the Vicars-Choral, afterwards the Schoolhouse.

directed to give seisin to the dean and chapter. This action for recovery of the land was clearly only a fictitious suit, the usual mode of conveyance in such cases at that time. It represented a gift or sale by Herwynton of his prebendal house for the vicars-choral, who up to that time had, no doubt, at Warwick as elsewhere, lived wherever they could find lodgings. They do not seem ever to have become a separate corporation, as the minor canons of St. Paul's, the vicars-choral of Hereford, Southwell, and other places became. But though not incorporate, they lived a collegiate, not, be it observed, a monastic life, together, with a common hall and common room, but not like monks with a common dormitory, but each having separate chambers, and with, unlike monks, each their separate income.

The number of vicars-choral seems to have been only six, the prior of St. Sepulchre's not having a priest-vicar to represent him, but maintaining only a subdeacon, an epistolar to read the Epistle at mass, in return for the appropriation to the priory of the Church of Greetham, in Rutland.¹ The six vicars-choral were increased to ten when Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1401-32, had founded the Beauchamp Chapel, on the south side of the choir, in which he is buried — 'one of the finest chapels in England,' says Rows, in words which are still true; 'to the which he ordeyned possessions for 4 prestys and 2 clerkys; and after hyt was moved to the Duke of Clarens'² (earl in right of his wife, the king-maker's daughter) 'that the 4 prestys or vicars to be perpetual and parish prest, and they to were calabre amys' (amices of grey calabrian fur, the usual dress of vicars-choral in collegiate churches), 'and for hope of the perpetuyte, the church should ever have able men to there quere (choir).'

After the dissolution the 'Vicars' house' was let³ to John Wallwyn at £1 a year. Mr. Kemp says that 'on the dissolution of the collegiate body it passed into the hands of the Corporation, who appear to have soon parted with it, for in

¹ *Harl. MS.*, 154, f. 79.

² *Statuta Collegii Warwicensis*, 1367. P. R. O. Augmentation Office, Misc. Books, No. 492, f. 3.

³ P. R. O. Min. Acc. 35-6, Henry VIII., No. 197.

1656 it belonged to John Wagstaffe, Esq.' The assumption that it passed to the Corporation is founded on the erroneous notion that the Corporation were granted all the property of the dean and chapter, and became their 'representatives.' But, as will be seen, the Corporation were granted nothing. There was no Corporation to be granted anything. The inhabitants were incorporated as trustees, and granted the rectories of St. Mary, St. Nicholas, and Budbrooke, and their vicarages, but these only amounted to a very small part of the possessions of the collegiate church, about one-seventh in value of the whole. They never had the Vicars-Choral College until it was bought for the school in 1699.

The canons were appointed by the Earl of Warwick for the time being, except during the life of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1193-1205, to whom Earl Waleran had granted the presentation,¹ perhaps in consideration of a confirmation by him² of the rights of St. Mary's against the prior of St. Sepulchre's. The canons each appointed his own vicar-choral until 1367, after which they were appointed by the chapter as a whole.

We find at Warwick the usual four officers or dignitaries: dean, schoolmaster or chancellor, precentor, treasurer or sacrist. The deanery probably did not exist before the union of the two churches in 1123, as the deed contained, as we have seen, an express power to the canons to elect a dean. The old constitution of collegiate churches was that of a republic among the canons *inter se* under the rule of the bishops, which in historical times had fallen into a mere suzerainty or overlordship. So it continued to the end at Southwell,³ Ripon, and Beverley Minsters.⁴ At York the republic disappeared between 1090 and 1100.⁵ 'After the canons had lived together for a few years the Archbishop (Thomas, the first Norman archbishop) divided the land of St. Peter, which was

¹ *Chart.*, f. 39a. Deed by H., Archbishop of Canterbury, protesting that the presentation to the prebends of Warwick granted him by Earl Waleran was personal only, and for life.

² *Ibid.*, f. 23b, No. 41.

³ *Memorials of Southwell Minster*, p. xxxiv.

⁴ *Memorials of Beverley Minster*, p. xxxvii.

⁵ *History of the Church of York*, ii. p. 108.

still to a great extent waste (owing to the Conqueror's devastations), assigning a prebend to each so that the number of canons might be increased, and each one, acting for himself, might be more zealous in building on and cultivating his own share. Then he established a Dean, a Treasurer, and a Precentor; he had already established a schoolmaster (*magistrum scholarum*).¹ A dean was not established at Exeter till 1220; a precentor was not established at St. Paul's till after 1267. We may impute the creation of the dean at Warwick to the year 1123. He was the head of the church, but only as *primus inter pares*, having only a second or casting vote at chapters. He was bound to continual residence, and had the cure of souls, not only over all members of the church, but, according to the statutes made in 1367, in all Warwick. Apparently, very soon after the foundation, the earls or the priors of St. Sepulchre's, or both, tried to interfere in the election of the dean, as papal bulls of 1146¹ and 1157² expressly forbade the interference of any person, ecclesiastical or secular, other than the canons, in the election. The deanery being in later times, at least, in the patronage of the earls, the Deans do not seem to have been men of mark like the provosts of Beverley or the deans of the cathedral churches, who were king's clerks and civil servants, becoming chancellors and bishops.

Whether the precentor was created at the same time as the dean does not appear. The precentor, one of the canons, is mentioned next after the dean in 1428.³ As there is no trace of a new creation, and the church was to have the same constitution as Salisbury and Lincoln, where a precentor was the second of the principal officers in the original foundations of 1090 and 1091, the precentor of Warwick had no doubt existed, at least, from the union of the two colleges in 1123.

The sacrist, sexton, or treasurer is very early and frequently mentioned. He took care of the treasures, the plate and ornaments of the church, not, like the later treasurer, of its income. Three early but undated deeds in the Chartulary⁴ concern a rent of 12d. due to the sacrist (*sacriste*) from a house

¹ *Chart.*, f. 14b.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 219b.

² *Ibid.*, f. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 43b-44.

‘in the suburb of Warwick in the street (*vico*) of Saltereford,’ or Saltisford, as it is also called. There is also a long inventory of all the goods of the collegiate church of Warwick, viz. books, vestments, silver vessels and other things, made on the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (2 February) 1407, and delivered to John Besseford, then sacrist.¹ A British Museum manuscript² contains another inventory, made 2 February 1464, ‘between Sir William Berkeswell, deane of the church collegiate of Warwick, all his brethren, chanons of that church, being now residents and absents, on the one partie, and Thomas Hillesley, sexteyn of newe made of the same church collegiate of the other party,’ and among the items are two surplices for the ‘sexten.’

The most precious thing in this collection was ‘j hie tabernacle of silver al gilded, otherwise called a monstrance, ordered to bere in goddes body on Corpus Christi Day.’ This kingly gift was given by Earl Richard Neville, the king-maker, ‘by the good mene of my lady Isabell that was his last wief.’ It weighed no less than 5 lb. 14 oz. ‘with the cristall beinge in the middel thereof, and with the rething (wreath) of silver beyng in the cristal.’

Perhaps the most interesting part of the ‘Sacristan’s’ duties was the custody of the amazing number of relics kept in St. Mary’s, a list of which, compiled 9 July 1455, is preserved in the Chartulary.³

First came ‘A Piece of the Cross.’ This was common. Indeed it has been estimated that there were enough pieces of the true cross in England alone to build a three-decker battleship of the Nelson era. Next came relics of the patron saint. ‘Pieces of the hair, clothes, and tomb of the Blessed Mary. Girdles of the same,’ and after ‘The bones and stole of St. Giles the Abbot,’ the item of ‘A portion of the milk of the Blessed Virgin Mary.’ The list goes on :—

‘Some oil of St. Katherine the Virgin.

Relics of St. Edward the King, Swithun and Alkmund, Wilfrid and Rufinus (?), viz. their bones.

¹ *Chart.*, f. 202b.

² *Harl. MS.*, 7505, p. 3.

³ *Chart.*, f. 205. The original list is in Latin.

Relics of St. James the Apostle.

A hair-shirt of St. Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury (Thomas à Becket).

Pieces of the tomb (*de tumba*) of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the thorn which was placed on Jesus' head.

Pieces of a tooth and bones of St. Lawrence the martyr.

Part of the chair of the Patriarch Abraham.

Oil in which fire came from heaven on the vigil of Pentecost.

A bone of Blessed St. Andrew the Apostle.

A comb of Blessed Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Part of Nicodemus' towel, when he carried the Lord's dead body at his burial.

Part of the trees of Mount Calvary.

Part of the burning bush (*de rubo quem viderat Moyses incom-bustum*).

An ivory horn (*torum*) of St. George the Martyr.

Oil and other relics of Bishop Nicholas (St. Nicholas of Myra, in whose honour the Boy Bishop reigned).

A frying-pan (*sartago*) of St. Brendan (*Brentani*).

Part of the shoulder-blade of St. Martin the Bishop.

Bones of the Holy Innocents.

Relics of St. Mary Magdalen.

Relics of St. Blaise, and St. Thaddeus apostle.

Relics of St. Hugh of Lincoln, bishop and martyr.

Piece of the Lord's sepulchre and of the stone of Mount Calvary.

Part of the Lord's crib (*præsepe*, a stable or crib), and of the column to which he was bound when he was scourged.

Part of the rock on which he was anointed after death.

Part of the tomb of St. Katherine the Virgin.

Part of the knee of St. George, and of the rock on which he bled in his martyrdom.

Part of St. Brendan's bones.

Part of St. Stephen's face.

Part of the clothes and hair of the Blessed Mary Magdalen.

Part of the rock in which St. Ann lies buried (*jacet*).

Hair of the Blessed Francis.

Part of the clothes of St. Agnes.

Part of the veil and tunic of Blessed Clara.

Relics of St. Cecilia.'

A later inventory made in February 1464-5,¹ and in English, gives rather more detail as to the way in which these relics were kept. Precedence is given to the 'here [*i.e.* the hair-shirt] that Saint Thomas of Canterbury wered, beying in a caas of black silk.' Next came 'j horn of ivory that was Saint George's, and a skelet that was Saint Brendane's.' Then 'j large cristall well harneized with silver al gild and wel enameled, in the whiche is j girdell of oure ladies, goddes moder's, with 39 longe barres,' so that her waist must have been of ample proportions, 'and j letter under the seal of Saint Thomas of Canterbury and other reliques, whiche weighte in al his garnisshing, withoute the reliques therynne, 3 lb. 8½ oz.' A 'rounde glas broken, wel harneized with copper overgild,' contained a mixed lot of pieces of the hair, dress, and tomb of Blessed Mary,² part of the oil³ in which the fire came from heaven on Whitsunday, the stole of St. Giles, and pieces of bone of St. Edward the king, Swithin, Rufinus, Alkmund, St. Giles the Abbot, St. Wilfrid.' Other crystals contained similar assortments of the odds and ends mentioned in the previous inventory. The most curious thing is that two different crystals contained bits of the Lord's Sepulchre, and, as if 39 links were not enough for the Virgin Mary's girdle, there was another bit in another crystal. Our Lady's milk, and the relics of St. Hugh of Lincoln, bishop and martyr, lumped together in the previous inventory, are here separated, as being in two different crystals, which is as well, as the mythical St. Hugh of Lincoln, boy-martyr, and St. Hugh, the bishop of Lincoln, were two very different persons. The only new relic seems to have been 'a longe small birell, harneized with silver and gild, in the which is part of the bones of the Eleven thousand Virgins and others,' weighing 5½ oz. A curious item is 'j rounde white ivory cofree set ful of ymages, lokked, the key not founde.' There were 'litell coofres of Spaynessh werke, in the wich buth (*i.e.* are) conteyned 9 pieces and j corporas caces with divers reliques.' And there is a third

¹ P.R.O. Exch. K.R. Ecclesiastical, Bundle 3, No. 24.

² 'De capillis Beate Marie, de veste et sepulcro eiusdem.'

³ This is presumably the origin of the Pentecostal chrism sent round from the mother church at Whitsuntide.

'girdell' of Our Lady's, 'wherthurgh wymmnen that have be in gret perille at childe birthe have had ofte tymes gracieux help and salmour.'

These lists are amazing records of credulity and superstition to be found, not in a monastery, but in a comparatively enlightened college of secular clergy. It is the preservation of relics like these, and all that they imply, which explain and justify the determination of the more zealous among the reformers to leave none of these 'hot-beds of superstition,' whether of the regulars or the secular clergy, unplundered, nor their inmates undispersed.

We pass on now to the second (though sometimes he ranked as third and even fourth) officer or dignitary of the collegiate church, the chancellor or schoolmaster, whose office brings us back from the constitution and history of the church to that of the school.

CHAPTER V

WARWICK SCHOOL AS A PART OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH, 1123-1544

THE remaining officer of a collegiate church was the chancellor or schoolmaster. There is, however, no trace at Warwick of a chancellor of the church under that name. The title of chancellor was one of comparatively late introduction. At York the title was unknown at the date between 1115 and 1125, when the history¹ was written from which we have already quoted a statement as to Archbishop Thomas having created a schoolmaster there before the creation of the dean and other dignitaries. The York Statutes, codified in 1307,² in which the chancellor appears as appointing the grammar schoolmaster, expressly state that 'the chancellor was anciently called Schoolmaster' (*magister scholarum*), and under the title of Scholasticus³ this officer is recorded as attending Archbishop Thurstan on his consecration by the Pope, at Blois, in 1120. At St. Paul's, London, the records show that the title of chancellor did not supersede that of schoolmaster till about 1205; and a note in its earliest chartulary, referring to some deeds affecting the schoolmaster, specifically states that he was the same person who was afterwards called chancellor. On the other hand, in the Institution of St. Osmund, on the foundation of the more modern Salisbury in 1090, if we have it (which is doubtful) in its original form, the title chancellor is used. As at Warwick the school attached to the College of All Saints existed in the days of Edward the Confessor, there must have been also a schoolmaster. So here, as at

¹ *Early Yorkshire Schools*, by A. F. Leach (Yorkshire Archæological Society, 1899), pp. xvi and 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

York, the schoolmastership was a more ancient office than the deanery.

Some question as to the relations of the school and schoolmaster to the chapter must have been asked of the dean and chapter of Salisbury in 1155, as they replied, as we have seen, that 'the Scholars stand and fall to their own Master,' *i.e.* are subject to the control and jurisdiction of the master, and not of the dean or chapter. This was precisely the case at York and St. Paul's, at Lincoln, and of course Salisbury itself, with the schoolmaster or chancellor. The regulation of the school and scholars was a matter for the officer specially charged with the school, not for the dean and chapter.

After 1155 the next mention of the school is in statutes made by the dean and chapter to settle a dispute between the grammar schoolmaster and the music or song schoolmaster as to their respective rights. These statutes are written in the flyleaves of the Chartulary, and are not dated.

The heading to them is, 'Of the office of the master of the Grammar School of Warwick.'¹ For some reason the words grammar school (*scolarum gramaticalium*) have been erased, though not so completely as to render them wholly illegible. 'For an everlasting remembrance of the matter,' the statute begins, 'we, Robert of Leicester, Dean of the Collegiate church of the Blessed Mary of Warwick, with the counsel of our brethren, decree and order (*statuimus et ordinamus*) that the Master of the Grammar School for the time being shall devote himself diligently to the information and instruction of his scholars in grammar (*gramaticalibus*); and when not engaged in teaching his scholars, shall be present at the services in the church in the stall assigned to him, on all feast days, and feasts of 9 lessons, and shall, as his office obliges him, read the sixth lesson on the said feasts, clad in a surplice or other proper (*decenti*) habit. On greater feasts he shall wear a silk cope and fill the office of one of the four precentors in the choir and procession, as has hitherto been usual in the church. And the same master, every Saturday throughout the year, except during school vacations (*tempore vacationis scholarum suarum*), shall carry in procession with his scholars in the

¹ 'De officio magistri scholarum gramaticalium Warr.

Lady Chapel of the church two wax candles of 3 lbs. weight, to be renewed once a year, and let them burn during the celebration of mass. We by no means wish that he should provide out of his own purse the habit to be worn in church, but should receive it out of the common fund.’¹

These provisions point to the usual position of the schoolmaster. According to the institution of St. Osmund,² for Salisbury, the earliest extant Cathedral Statutes, it was the business of the chancellor or archiscola to teach school and to correct the books, to hear and determine the lessons, besides keeping the chapter seal, writing the chapter letters and deeds, and marking the readers on the tables for the day. The precentor superintended the singing and singers as the chancellor did the reading and the readers.

In statutes of St. Paul’s³ made some time before 1285, probably about 1250, it is said to be the business of the chancellor ‘to set up the table for lessons, masses, epistles and gospels for acolytes and those in course for a week (*ebdomadariis*)’: and to keep the chest with the school books (*libris scolasticis*) of the church, ‘in a silk cope to wait on the Bishop who reads the last lesson,’ while in statutes of a little later date, he is also said ‘himself to read the sixth lesson.’

The reference to the sixth lesson shows us that the schoolmaster was only obliged to attend services on the greater feasts. On ordinary days there were three lessons (*lectiones*) or readings; on lesser saints’ days there were six lessons; but on the real ‘holydays,’ Sundays, and the greater saints’ days there were nine lessons. They were curious little scraps of never more than three verses of the Scriptures in length. On Sundays the first three lessons were generally out of the Bible, the rest being taken out of commentaries or sermons on them. On saints’ days the first three lessons generally told the story or legend of the saint, the rest being either amplification or commentaries on it. They were interspersed

¹ There is some mistake in the text here, ‘percipit’ being apparently written for ‘perciendum.’

² *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, Bradshaw and Wordsworth, ii. p. 9.

³ *Archives of St. Paul’s Cathedral*. Book WD. 19 and Baldock and Lisieux Statutes in Simpson’s *Statutes of St. Paul’s*, p. 76.

with responds and verses, being remarks or quotations supposed to be suggested by the story, which were sung. In fact, the whole thing approached very near to a dramatic representation on the model of a Greek play, the lessons intoned being the play, and the responds and verses, the chorus, as 'the ideal commentator'; and it is out of them that the medieval and modern drama developed. Thus on St. Andrew's Day, the first saint's day of the Christian year, the lessons told the legend of his martyrdom on his peculiar form of cross 'bound hand and foot as on the wooden horse,' while the 'response' to the first lesson consisted of the piece out of the gospels in which Christ calls him, and the 'verse' of a repetition of the words, 'Come after me and I will make you fishers of men.' The responses and verses of the other lessons added bits of commentary on it or pious reflections. One of the chief reforms in the services at the Reformation was in the lessons, connected pieces of the Bible being read in an audible voice. The change is justified in the preface to the Prayer Book by reference to the 'decent order of the ancient fathers' having been altered 'by planting in uncertain stories and legends, with multitude of responds, verses, vain repetitions, commemorations and synodals.'

As regards the grammar schoolmaster acting as a precentor or ruler of the choir, we must remember that every grammar scholar had also to learn singing. On the very eve of the Reformation the most famous schoolbook of the day, a 'Vulgaria,' published by William Horman, a Winchester scholar, Vice-Provost of Eton, who had been headmaster first of Eton, then of Winchester, contains the remarkable sentence, 'Without knowledge of music, grammar cannot be perfect.'

The object of the Warwick statutes was not, however, to set out the common form regulations as to the grammar schoolmaster's duties, but to settle a particular dispute. The last clause runs, 'That all material for strife and disagreement, which we learn has hitherto arisen between the Master and Music Schoolmaster (*magistrum scholarum musice*) over the Donatists and little ones learning their first letters and the psalter (*Donatistas et primas litteras et psalterium addiscentes*) may be put a stop to for ever, after due inquiry in the matter

and with the advice of our brethren, and so that the Masters and each of them may receive their due, and that undue encroachment of scholars on one side and the other may cease for the future; we decree and direct to be inviolably observed that the present Grammar Master (*magister gramatice*) and his successors shall have the Donatists, and thenceforward have, keep, and teach scholars in grammar or the art of dialectic, if he shall be expert in that art, while the Music Master shall keep and teach those learning their first letters the psalter, music and song.' Then follows another statute, 'Of the office of the Music Master.' This directs the music master 'to be present at the Lady Mass in the Lady Chapel every day with two of his scholars to sing in praise of the Virgin all the music after the Agnus Dei; while at processions and on the greater double feasts he is to wear a silk cope and fill the office of a precentor (one of the four *rectores chori* or conductors), and as above stated is to instruct and teach his scholars with all the diligence he may.'

The statutes conclude with a direction that 'the Masters aforesaid, who shall be presented by the Dean to the Grammar School of the town of Warwick or the Music School (*scolis gramatice ville Warrwici seu musice*), shall on their admission take their bodily oath in the Chapter of the church together with their oath of obedience, which they are bound to take to the Dean, to observe all and singular the premises, giving always to the Dean and his brethren their ancient privileges and customs in the said schools.' The guilt of perjury was to be incurred *ipso facto* by any non-observance of these statutes, unless special leave was obtained from the dean, and the dean was to punish severely any such non-observance. An explanatory clause is appended that 'the Masters were not bound to these duties during holidays (*vacacionis suarum scholarum tempore*), except that if they were in Warwick on any double feast during vacations they were to officiate in the church, if conveniently possible, as before expressed.'

It is very tantalising that not only are these statutes undated, but also the dean who made them is hitherto unknown. There is a gap of 100 years in the list of deans between Jordan (*Jordanus*), who is assigned by Dugdale to



the year 1182, and Robert de Plessets, de Plesseto or Plecy, *i.e.* probably Pleshey, in 1282. We can insert in the gap after Jordan the name of Richard, son of Ascur, Dean of Warwick,¹ to whom a grant was made by Earl William, who died in the Holy Land in 1184. Robert of Leicester may conceivably have been the next in succession. A Robert of Leicester is mentioned in the register of the Cistercian Abbey of Combe,² and, according to Dugdale, was nephew and co-heir of Reginald Basset of Wolvey with Yvo of Dene, who gave the manor of Wolvey to Combe. Reginald Basset, sheriff of Warwickshire in 1208, had himself given the rectory of Wolvey, half to Combe, half for a canonry in Lichfield Cathedral, and Robert of Leicester and William of Leicester, canons of Lichfield, with Henry of Leicester, prior of Coventry, their cousin or uncle, founded a chantry³ in Coventry Cathedral for Henry of Leicester. The Bassets were great people in the county. William Basset, one of the witnesses to a grant about 1180⁴ of a prebend in the collegiate church, St. Mary's Warwick, by Earl William to Nicholas, King's chaplain, is described as Sheriff of Warwickshire. Thomas Basset of Haddington⁵ was guardian of Henry, Earl of Warwick and keeper of Warwick Castle about 1206; and Philip Basset married Ela, Countess of Salisbury, widow of Thomas, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1242.⁶ Any one connected with the Bassets, therefore, at this date had a good chance of a piece of preferment like the deanery, which, if the patronage did not then belong directly to the earls, must at least have been under their influence. Thus, at the end of the thirteenth century, Robert de Plesseto, de Plessetis, Plessets or Plescy, as he is variously called, the dean of 1282, was no doubt a connection of the John de Plesseto,⁶ who became earl by marrying Margaret, sister and heiress of Earl Thomas, about 1250.

A Ralph of Leicester was canon of Lichfield in 1248. Simon, son of Robert of Leicester, witnessed⁷ a grant by

¹ *Chart.*, f. xlj.

² Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 66, from *Register Combi*, f. 83. But the register itself does not seem to assert the relationship.

³ *Warwickshire*, p. 164.

⁴ *Chart.*, f. 41.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *The Rows Rol.*

⁷ *Chart.*, f. 40.

Robert de Curli to the vicars-choral of land in Salterforth on the feast of SS. Gervase and Protasius, 26 Henry III., 19 June 1241. Peter of Leicester was a canon of Warwick in 1295¹ and was granted the custody of the sequestration of Wolfhamcote vicarage in 1299.² If Robert of Leicester, the heir of Reginald Basset of Wolvey, was our dean, this Simon might very well be his son, either before or even while he was dean, since being a dean by no means necessarily involved being in holy orders, as we know from such conspicuous instances as William of Wykeham,³ who was dean of the ancient collegiate church of St. Martin's le Grand in 1360, while only as yet in the first tonsure which schoolboys had, and not even an acolyte; and Cardinal Pole, who was dean of Wimborne in 1535⁴ while yet an acolyte. Assuming that this Robert was our dean, the school statutes must belong to the first half of the thirteenth century. If so, Warwick School may claim, not only the earliest charter, directly establishing its pre-Conquest existence, but also the earliest extant school statutes.

So far had I established the antiquity of these statutes. But, unfortunately, further research suggests a doubt whether Robert of Leicester is not to be identified with a dean already known under the name of Robert de Geryn. On 12 February 1314 letters dimissory for all holy orders, *i.e.* leave to be ordained by a bishop other than his own diocesan, were granted in London by the Bishop of Worcester⁵ to 'Master Robert Gerin of Leicester, dean of the collegiate church of St. Mary of Warwick, acolyte.' On 31 July following he is called in one place⁶ Robert Dean, in another Robert Gerin, Dean, while in the Warwick Chartulary in 1329 he is called Robert de Geryn. Though Robert of Gerin would thus appear to have been his usual name, it is difficult to avoid the inference that he is the Robert of Leicester who made the

¹ Pope Nicholas's *Taxation*.

² Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 367, from *Register Northburgh*, f. 27b, and *Register Langton*, f. 22a.

³ *Life of William Wykeham*, by G. H. Moberly, 1887, p. 43.

⁴ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.

⁵ *Reg.*, Walter Maydestan, f. 21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 30 and 32.

statutes. If so, their date is between 1314 and 1329 instead of a century earlier.

These statutes do not, it is true, give us any detailed picture of school life or systems of instruction at that date. But they illustrate and confirm several important features of English education before the Reformation which have until lately been obscured, ignored, or altogether denied. For instance, they help to bridge a gap of 150 years hitherto existing in the evidence that all through the Middle Ages schoolmastering was 'a gainful profession,' and that grammar or public schoolmasters lived largely on tuition fees. And here one must repeat, even at the risk of doing so *ad nauseam*, that the distinction between grammar and public schools is absolutely modern and is not a real distinction at all. Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Harrow, Rugby are just as much grammar schools by foundation and proper title as, to take their nearest geographical parallels, Southampton, Reading, St. Paul's, St. Albans or Coventry; while these latter are just as much entitled to be called public schools as the former, and a great deal more so than private properties like Cheltenham, or Clifton. The difference between the so-called public schools and the grammar schools was merely one of numbers and wealth, not of subjects of instruction or educational status, and is now not even one between a school with day-boys and with boarders. The real distinction is between great and small public schools, not between public schools and grammar schools.

The earliest date at which hitherto any evidence is forthcoming of a contest for the right to keep school, and therefore inferentially to take the profits arising from doing so, is that of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester in his own city of Winchester, and also as acting-bishop of London, in the city of London. In both capacities he appears as putting down rival and unlicensed schools in the interests of the recognised grammar school. The London decree threatened excommunication against any one infringing the rights of Henry, schoolmaster of St. Paul's school, by keeping a school without his licence, in London or its suburbs, except in the privileged areas of the liberty of the pre-Conquest collegiate church of

S. Martin's le Grand, and the Archbishop of Canterbury's 'peculiar,' the church of St. Mary de Arcubus, the seat of the Court of Arches, St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside. Its date was 1137.¹ The Winchester decree, which was an appeal to the court of Canterbury from the Bishop of Winchester, in the case of *Fantosme v. Jekyll*, and ended in an appeal to the Pope, of which the issue is unknown, was probably a few years later. It likewise threatened excommunication against the rival schoolmaster. The next published evidence of this fact is of the date 1304-5, when the chapter of Beverley Minster,² at the instance of the master of Beverley grammar school, put down by excommunication and threats of excommunication rival schools, which without his authority had been established within their liberty; while in 1312³ a dispute between the grammar and song schoolmasters of Beverley, as to whether all the choristers of the church, or only the original number of seven, were to be admitted free to the grammar school or compelled to pay fees (*solvere salarium*), was settled in favour of freedom; conclusive proof that grammar schoolmasters, then as now, were paid at least in part by tuition fees. The Warwick statutes, if of the date *circa* 1215, conveniently fall about halfway between the date of the London and Beverley decrees for the suppression of overlapping in schools.

These Warwick statutes are also important in demonstrating that even at this early date grammar schools were not, as they have been and still are persistently misrepresented to have been, up to the Reformation, mere machines for teaching a few choristers their psalms; but, on the contrary, that there were special and separate schools for this latter purpose—namely, the song schools, which were entirely distinct and under distinct management. Curious it is to find even in the thirteenth century at Warwick, and, as we have also noted, in the fourteenth century at Beverley, the masters of song schools, which performed the function of elementary schools, like elementary schoolmasters in these latter days, not content to do their own

¹ *History of Winchester College*, pp. 37-9.

² *Memorials of Beverley Minster* (Surtees Society), pp. 42, 48, 103. *Early Yorkshire Schools*, i. 80-9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

work well, but seeking to leave their proper field and trespass on the work of the grammar schools. The division between the grammar or secondary school and the song and reading or elementary school was as much a vexed question in the first quarter of the thirteenth century as it is in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

At Warwick, as at all collegiate churches, there were two schools: the grammar school under the schoolmaster, and the song school under the music or song schoolmaster. The grammar school gave instruction in grammar, that is in literature, classical literature, dialectic or the art of argument, the beginnings of philosophy, and rhetoric or the art of persuasion, including composition. The song school taught besides singing, reading, and, we may suppose, writing. The earliest direct documentary evidence that I have met with in other places of a song school being also an elementary school is at Howden in 1394. The prior of Durham Cathedral Monastery was the 'ordinary' of Howdenshire, the district in the East Riding of Yorkshire of which Howden was the capital. In 1393 the Durham Priors' Register¹ shows us the prior appointing in December one person master of the grammar school for three years, and in July another person master of the song school for five years. The song schoolmaster, however, held office for only a year. On 2 July 1394² Sir Edmund Marsh, chaplain, was collated to the school of Howden, both reading and song (*scolas nostras de Houeden tam lectuales quam cantuales*), for three years, and it is evident that this was no new mixture, as it is expressly said that the collation was 'as hitherto accustomed' (*prout hactenus conferi consueverunt*). Seven years later a new master was appointed to the same school of reading and song, with a reservation of the right of one John Lowyke to teach eighteen boys reading, if he likes to keep a reading school. Similar appointments were made to William Lowyke, clerk, in 1402 and 1412, and to John Ellay, chaplain, in common form (*in communi forma*) in 1426. But, oddly enough, after an appointment to the grammar school in

¹ *Brit. Mus. Faustina A*, vi. 104b, printed in *Early Yorkshire Schools*, ii. 84.

² *Ibid.*, f. 105b.

1403 'during pleasure,' with a direction that, as at Warwick, the boys were to attend the Lady Mass in the collegiate church, there is an appointment in 1409 of William Malton to teach boys both grammar and reading. So that from 1409 to 1412 there was overlapping between grammar and song school as far as teaching reading was concerned. In 1406 again the reading and grammar schools (*scolastam lectuales quam gramaticales*) were united in the person of John Armandson, B.A.

At Northallerton, in Yorkshire, the junction of grammar and song school took place earlier, for while in 1322 Robert Colstan, clerk, was appointed rector of the grammar school, in 1377 John Pudsey, clerk, was appointed 'Master of our School in Allerton' on the ground of his sufficiency to teach 'both grammar and song,' and in 1385 the mixture was repeated; while in 1440 John Leuesham, chaplain, was made master of a triune school, reading, song, and grammar (*scolas tam lectuales, cantuales quam gramaticales*).

It is noticeable that the Black Death intervened between the separate appointment to the grammar school and the junction of the two schools. The scarcity of clerics produced by the Black Death lowered the standard of education, for the time at least. It is a testimony to the larger life and higher standard of Warwick that attempted confusion of functions there, by invasion of the song schoolmaster, was stopped on appeal by the chapter's decision, embodied in the statutes.

The *casus belli* was apparently as to whether the grammar school or the song school should be adorned by the presence of the Donatists. It would appear it was common ground that the song school might claim all those who were learning music and song, including those who were learning to read as well as sing the psalter and their first letters. The dispute was whether Donatists were to be included among those learning their first letters or not. The word Donatists does not, of course, in this connection mean the set of heretics of that name who in the year 311 were developed in Africa, that prolific source of heresies. It means those who were learning the accidence or elementary grammar of Donatus, Ælius

Donatus, a schoolmaster at Rome in the same century, about 355.

All that we know of his life is derived from the writings of St. Jerome, or, to give him his proper name, Hieronymus, who mentions him several times as his own master (*praeceptor meus*), and always in terms of praise. The one remark recorded of him should alone entitle him to an everlasting fame. Apropos of Solomon's dictum¹ that there is nothing new under the sun, Jerome cites 'the comedian's,' *i.e.* Terence's saying that 'every good thing has been said before' (*omne bonum dictum est prius*), 'expounding which verse,' he says, 'my master Donatus used to say, "Perish those who have said our good things before us" (*Pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt*).' In another place Jerome tells his opponent Rufinus that he had no doubt read as a boy the commentaries of his (Jerome's) master Donatus on Terence's *Comedies* and on Virgil, and informs us that the famous teachers at Rome² in his day were 'Victorinus the rhetorician and Donatus the grammarian, my master.'

This famous schoolmaster produced two works in grammar distinguished as the 'greater' and 'lesser' arts of grammar. The *Ars Major*, in three books, was not so famous as the *Ars Major* of the later author Priscian, a Constantinople schoolmaster, who about the middle of the sixth century composed a grammar in eighteen books (the 'books' are only the modern 'chapters,' not volumes), mostly translated from the Greek grammarians, which took rank as the standard advanced grammar throughout the Middle Ages. It was Donatus's smaller work, *Donati de partibus orationis Ars Minor*, or, 'The Lesser Catechism on the Parts of Speech,' which reigned without a rival for a thousand years, and made its author's name, under its Anglicised or Gallicised form of a 'Donat' or a 'Donet,' a household word throughout Europe. There is a Donat in the British Museum written in Anglo-Saxon characters in the ninth century. The qualification laid down by William of Wykeham for his scholars of Winchester in 1400 was that they should be 'well-instructed in reading, song, and old

¹ *Hieronymus in Ecclesiasten*, c. 1.

² *Romæ insignes habentur.—In Chron. Eusebii.*

Donatus.’¹ A Donatus was among the earliest books printed by Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson. In the *Pastime of Pleasure*, by S. Hawes in 1509, Grande Amour tells how ‘Lady Gramer taught me first my Donat, then my accidence’; and in 1535 Tindal’s parallel to Macaulay’s ‘fifth-form boy’ is to say, ‘I had nede go lerne my Donate and accidence again.’

So entirely had the name of Donatus become identified with a primer or introductory handbook in any subject, that in 1362² Avaricia, in *Piers Plowman*, speaks of learning the art of fraudulent shop-keeping, as ‘going among drapers my donet to learn’; and in 1443 Reginald Pecock, the Bishop of Chichester, who was convicted and deprived for heresy, because he ventured to discuss the disendowment of the clergy, called one of his books *A Donet in Christian Religion*, explaining that ‘as the common donet bereth himself towards the full lerning of Latin, so this booke for Godde’s Lawe.’

The Donet fully deserved its vogue, being a model of clearness and conciseness, occupying but ten octavo pages in modern print. It is couched in the form of a catechism.

‘How many parts of speech are there?—Eight. What?—Noun, Adjective, Pronoun, Verb, Participle, Preposition, Conjunction, Interjection. What is a Noun?—A part of speech which is declined, properly or commonly signifying a body or thing. How many accidents has a noun?—Six. What?—Quality, comparison, gender, number, figure, declension. In what does the quality of a noun consist?—It is two-fold, either a name, when it is called a proper name, or is a name of many things and called appellative. How many figures of nouns are there?—Two. What?—Simple, as becoming, potent: compound, as unbecoming, impotent. How many cases of nouns are there?—Six. What?—Nominative (etc.). By these, nouns, pronouns, and participles of all genders are declined, thus: “*Magister*,” noun appellative, of the masculine gender, singular number, simple figure, nominative and vocative

¹ So, too, it was a requirement for admission of the grammar boys at the College of Boissy in Paris University, founded in 1359, that they should have learned ‘Donatus and Cato,’ i.e. the pseudo-Cato’s *Moralia*, or proverbs in Latin verse, the first Latin book. *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, by H. Rashdall, ii. 602, from Du Boulay’s *University of Paris*, ii. 354-5.

² *New English Dictionary*, under DONET.

case, which will be declined thus: "Nominative *hic magister*, genitive *hujus magistri*, dative *huic magistro*," and so on.

Musa is the example for a feminine noun, which was only in the sixteenth century displaced for *mensa*; *scamnum*, a bench, for a neuter noun; *sacerdos* for one of either sex, while *felix* serves for an adjective. The arrangement of the declensions was, in a medieval MS., calculated to turn the unhappy beginner's brain, because, instead of the declensions being cast, as in our grammars, into a tabulated form, they go straight on in continuous lines, most puzzling to the eye. But this was the case with medieval books in general, tabulation being almost unknown. The Donat stopped short with the 'accidence' of parts of speech, leaving syntax and construction for the larger work.

The question whether boys learning their Donat were to be reckoned as elementary scholars, and therefore admitted to the song school, or as secondary schoolboys, and therefore to be taught in the grammar school, was a vexed one in many places, and was determined variously at various times and places. Thus at Breslau, in 1267, a contest, similar to that at Warwick between the song or elementary school and the grammar school, was settled by a papal bull. Breslau, like twelfth-century Warwick, seems to have possessed a church in the town and a church in the castle, and the papal legate settled their respective claims by declaring that 'there may be in the city of Breslau by S. Mary Magdalen's church a school in which the little boys may be taught the alphabet with the Lord's Prayer, and the salutation of the Virgin, with the Creed, psalter, and 7 psalms; they may learn there, too, singing, so as to be able to read and sing in the churches to the honour of God. They may also in the same school learn (*audiant*, listen to lectures in) Donatus, Cato, and Theodolus, and the Boys' Rules (*regulae pueriles*, i.e. versified books of manners). But if the said boys wish to learn more advanced books, they must pass to the school of S. John in the castle, or wherever they wish.'¹ But it must be

¹ Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ii. 602, from *Breslauer Urkundenbuch*, ed. Korn, Breslau, 1870, p. 35. Mr. Rashdall himself, in this as in other places, has not appreciated the distinction between the song, or elementary, and the grammar schools.

noted that the allowance of Donatus and Cato was an innovation, a concession to complaints of the elementary schoolmasters as to the inconvenience of sending small boys outside the town to the castle church school. The song school was, as at Warwick, normally confined to those who had not begun their Donat. This was the law of the church, the common law of schools. Thus, one of the decretals runs, 'Every priest who has a cure (*qui plebem regit*) should have a clerk to sing with him and to read the epistle and lesson, who is able to keep a school (*qui possit scholas tenere*) and to admonish the parishioners to send their sons to the church to learn the faith; and who may teach them with all chastity.' A gloss adds, 'a school, to teach the Psalter and singing.' A similar dispute as to the spheres of grammar and elementary schools is to be found at Canterbury in 1322,¹ between Mr. Ralph, master of Canterbury Grammar School (*rector scholarum gramaticalium civitatis nostre Cantuariensis*), and Mr. Robert Henneys, rector of St. Martin's, by Canterbury, and the master of the school (*scholarum*) of the same place appointed by him. The schoolmaster of Canterbury Grammar School, the direct ancestor of the present so-called King's School there, complained that Mr. John of Bucwell, the St. Martin's schoolmaster, admitted everybody who chose to come to learn grammar, though by ancient custom he was not allowed to have more than 13 scholars in grammar. The Commissary of the Official-Principal of Canterbury, the local deputy, that is, of the Judge of the Court of Arches, held an inquiry and took the evidence of a mixed jury of clerics and laics, who found that by ancient custom there ought not to be more than 13 boys learning grammar in St. Martin's school, that the Canterbury master had the right of visiting the school to see whether there were more than that number, and when his usher, or undermaster (*hostiarius vel submonitor*), visited the school, any beyond that number used to hide themselves; but no limit was imposed on the number of those learning the alphabet, the psalter, and singing. This finding was, on appeal to the Court of Arches, confirmed by the Dean of Arches on 13 April 1324.

¹ *Canterbury Cathedral Register*, i. 379(b), partly printed in Somner's *History of Canterbury*, App. No. xxxiii. p. 33, ed. 1703. See the *Times*, Sept. 7, 1897.

At Saffron Walden, in 1423, a subsequent similar contest took place between the Abbot of Walden, who asserted the right to appoint the master of the grammar school¹ in the town of Walden, and that such grammar schoolmaster had the sole right of teaching, not only the alphabet and the 'graces,' *i.e.* the graces before and after meals (which had then become substituted for the psalter as the vehicle of elementary instruction), but in other higher books (*aliis altioribus libris*). But two chantry priests in the parish church had set up schools on their own account, and affected to teach grammar as well as the alphabet and graces. The abbot inhibited the chantry priests from teaching at all; but the matter was eventually compromised on the basis of their being allowed to teach the alphabet and graces to one boy of each family in Walden, while all others were to go to the grammar school. The case has become famous owing to Lord Braybrooke, who first published the document which was in his possession at his house at Audley End, close to the site of Walden Abbey, having misread the word 'graciis' into 'graecis,' and so claimed that already, in 1423, Saffron Walden gloried in schoolmasters who taught Greek; more than fifty years before the first Greek teacher in England was imported to New College at Oxford! Oddly enough, the same word correctly read was misconstrued by Mrs. Green, in her brilliant book on *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*,² to mean 'the humanities,' which she says 'did not imply culture in anything like our sense of the word, nor yet taken from the literary point of view, but the old ecclesiastical description which included, above all things, logic.' But 'the humanities' was just what those chantry priests were not to teach; they were to be confined to elementary teaching, the alphabet, and the graces. The ordinance did not mean that the inhabitants of Saffron Walden were to be deprived of what we should call secondary education, but only that the secondary schools and the elementary schools were to be distinct, and that the elementary schoolmasters were not to trench on the province of the grammar schoolmaster.

At Warwick, it was a sign of superiority that the grammar

¹ *Hist. MSS. Commission Report*, viii. 281. Lord Braybrooke's MSS.

² Macmillan and Co., 1894, ii. 18.

and song schools were distinct, and that the dean and chapter fully recognised and enforced the distinction; and that the grammar schoolmaster was to teach dialectic as well as grammar. The 'Seven Sciences of the Middle Ages, derived from M. Aurelius Cassiodorus' (*De artibus ac disciplinis liberalium artium*), were, as is well known, divided into two parts: the Trivium, consisting of grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric; and the Quadrivium, of mathematics, viz. arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. After the separation between grammar school and university school took place, the first three became the province of the grammar school. Some authorities, such as Cassiodorus himself, put rhetoric after grammar. Later authorities put dialectic in the second place, and rhetoric in the third. Alcuin, the great schoolmaster of York at the end of the eighth century, and afterwards of Germany under Charlemagne, placed both rhetoric and dialectic under the heading of logic. But dialectic is what we call logic. As the *Mirroure of the World*, a translation by Caxton in 1460, from a French translation made in 1245 of the Latin original, says, 'The second science is logyke, whyche is called dyalec-tyque. This science proueth the pro and the contra. That is to saye, the write or trouthe and otherwyse.'

At Warwick, apparently, the same order was adopted, logic following grammar. It is difficult to make out what text-book was used. Alcuin had written treatises on grammar and dialectic, which were extremely popular, being lively dialogues, the first between a Frank and a Saxon boy, the last between Charlemagne and Alcuin himself under the name of Albinus. In a list of books written at the end of a MS.,¹ which belonged apparently to a schoolmaster at Canterbury, is written in Anglo-Saxon, 'This syndon tha bec tha Æthel-stanes weran' ('These are the books that were Athelstan's'). And a list of ten books, mostly grammatical, including both the greater and lesser Donatus, follows. Among them are 'Alcuin' and Isidore of Seville. It is probable, however, that by the time of which we are writing Alcuin had become out of date.

The chief text-book seems to have been the Isidore of Seville, from whom Alcuin borrowed, and whom he for a time super-

¹ *Cott. Dom.* i.

seded. A copy of his work on 'Etymologies,' which includes treatises on dialectic and rhetoric, was given by William of Wykeham to Winchester College, apparently as the text-book for use in the school. It is described in the contemporary catalogue as *Liber continens Isidorum Ethamologisarum cum ij tractatibus gramaticalibus*, price 3s. 4d.¹ This work, the composition of which is imputed to about 650, is not itself original, but based chiefly on Cassiodorus, a century earlier, who in his turn copied and translated into Latin the *Isagoge*, or *Introduction of Porphyrius*. It is a short abstract of logical definitions and formulas. It explains what is meant by genus and species, property, differentia, and accidents; the ten predicaments, substance, quantity, quality, and the like; and the nine modes of syllogisms or arguments from universal to universal, universal to particular, and particular to universal, and so on; but not yet reduced to the 'Barbara, Celarent, Darii' formula of later days. In all probability this was the book in vogue at Warwick at this time.

The study of dialectic must have been a great relief from eternal gerund-grinding, and the perpetual pious platitudes of the 'Christian poets,' Sedulius, Juvenius, Arator, Prudentius, which had for the most part superseded the classical authors in school curricula. Not, indeed, that even in dialectic you got very far away from pious platitudes. Alcuin's example of a syllogism is 'All virtue is useful, chastity is a virtue, therefore chastity is useful.' Nor were the etymologies very sound. Alcuin told his royal pupil that dialectic is so called 'because in it men dispute about what is said, *nam lecton dictio dicitur*'; while Peter Hispanus, who became Pope John XXI., said that it was derived from *dia quod est duo*, and *lecton quod est dictio*, because it puts two and two together. It was not till 1520 that the text-books on logic set these and like absurdities aside.

But with all the shortcomings of the text-books, dialectic was an excellent training for the mind, more especially as it was accompanied by practical work in argument: the boys being set to 'pose' and answer each other, the master 'determining.' In the absence of any such practice

¹ *Archæological Journal*, xv. 69.

now, and to mitigate the ferocity of eternal grammar, Greek, Latin, French, and English, our schools have to start debating and essay societies to teach to some extent out of school by practice and rule of thumb what our forefathers learned in school scientifically and by rule. No doubt, as in all things mediæval, there was a great deal too much formalism, a superabundance of definition and classification, and the letter was apt to kill the spirit. But still the mere introduction to predicables and syllogisms, and learning to detect and name fallacies in argument, was itself a life-giving exercise. It was certainly appreciated by the youth of the day. After all, it was to dialectic, and to those great masters of it, Abelard, Wycliffe, and Luther, that we owe the development of the theological schools into universities, the enfranchisement of the human intellect, and the consequent reformation in the theological domain itself.

From the date of these statutes of the twelfth or thirteenth century there is an absolute dearth of documents relating to the school until we come to the middle of the fifteenth century. The learning of that century has been decried by writers who have accepted the abuse and contempt poured on it by the writers of the succeeding century as barbarous and retrograde. That it was less advanced than the age which succeeded it may readily be admitted, and that its productions in the Latin tongue were often less elegant than those of the twelfth century may also be allowed. But to the reformers of the sixteenth century, both in religion and learning, in architecture and painting, the fifteenth century was merely old enough to be old-fashioned, and therefore more or less ridiculous, without having become old enough to be antique and admired as ancient. It is absurd to suppose that learning was less in the fifteenth century than in the twelfth. Ignorance only can excuse the assumption that Thomas Bekynton, scholar of Winchester and of New College, Bishop of Bath and Wells and Privy Seal, chief agent of Henry VI. in the foundation of Eton, whose excellent Latin letters have been preserved for us, was less learned or less cultured than Thomas Becket, the chancellor of Henry II., or that the great canon lawyer, Lyndwood, was inferior in knowledge or learning to John of

Salisbury. No age can afford to be disrespectful to that which witnessed the renaissance of Greek learning and the birth of English literature in the English tongue.

Warwick and Warwick School in this century may enrol a noted name in the man who may fairly claim to be the father of English antiquarianism, John Rows, as he spells himself; Rossus in Latin, which he tells us means Rufus or red. Leland testifies¹ that Rows was not only Warwick born but Warwick bred, 'until his maturer years demanded teachers of philosophy,' for all the world like the 'greats man' of the present day, at Oxford. He has been said to have been a scholar of Balliol at Oxford, because, speaking of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, he says,² 'a man of great learning whom I knew in the University of Oxford, where he was a fellow-scholar in my time.' But the words simply mean that he was a scholar of the university. If he had been, not only a scholar of the same university, but also of the same college, we may be pretty sure he would have said so. Half a dozen historical or antiquarian works are ascribed to Rows by Leland. Of these only two have descended to us, 'The History of the Kings of England,' and the 'History of the Earls of Warwick,' commonly called *The Rows Rol*, already so often quoted. The other works are said to be: 1. 'On the Antiquity of the Town of Warwick'; 2. 'On the Bishops of Worcester'; 3. 'Of the Antiquity of Guy's Cliff'; 4. 'Against the False History of the Antiquity of Cambridge'; and 5. 'On the Antiquity of the Universities of Britain,' which last is said to be an imperfect work. But there is good reason to think that these other so-called works were merely episodes in or extracts from the two books which we have, and which contain copious references to those subjects. The 'History of the Kings of England' is not a work of great value. Owing to the connection of the ancient Earls of Warwick with Wales, through the conquest of the 'Land of Gower' by Henry of Newburgh, Rows was led

¹ *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, p. 473, quoted in preface to T. Hearne's edition of Rows's *Historia Regum Anglie*, Oxford, 1745, p. xxiv. 'Joannes Rossus, aut si mavis, Rufus, quem patria lingua Rowse vocant, Verovici urbe magnae olim celebritatis . . . natus simul et educatus fuit, donec maturiores anni philosophicos poscebant preceptores.'

² *Historia Regum Anglie*, p. 3.

to study the Welsh Chronicles and to accept as history all their fables and folk-stories, often founded on false etymologies. The chief value of the history lies in its casual allusions to the contemporary history of Warwick and Oxford, and other places where there were schools and colleges. Among other things he tells us that Henry v., who had studied at Queen's College under the tutorship of his uncle, Henry Beaufort, had designed a noble college at Oxford, in which there should be deep research in the 'seven sciences,' and he had himself in his youth seen the ordinance for it, but being young had forgotten it. That king also, according to Rows,¹ visited 'Gybelyff alias Gycliff,' near Warwick, and intended to found there a chantry of two priests. This was afterwards founded by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in 1420.² When Rows left the University, he became one of these chantry priests, and composed his History, he tells us, in the forty-second year of his stay there.

That lovely spot, Guy's Cliff, made Leland break into poetry. He describes it as 'a shady wood, sparkling streams, flowery meads, mossy caves, the river twinkling over the stones, silence and calm beloved of the muses.'³ Its name is certainly not derived from the mythical Guy, 'who killed the giant Colbrond at Winchester, and retired to the hermitage there, and lived and died unknown, an almsman of his own wife.' It is probably nothing more than the cat's cliff. Its history is, however, curious. According to Rows, it was a hermitage in the time of Earl Roger, and given by him to the priory of St. Sepulchre, and the gift confirmed by his son Earl Waleran, to which it became a cell. To follow Rows's own diction, 'Then was hit a sel to hem, and oder wyle there were chanons (canons), and after secular prestys, lyving by salaryes where they might get hem.' And with them lived 'armytys,'

¹ *History*, p. 208.

² Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 183. Licence, 1 Henry vi., and further licence, 9 Henry vi.

³ 'It is a house of pleasure, a place meet for the muses. There is silence, a pretty wood, antra in vivo saxo (caves in the living rock), the river rousing over the stones with a praty noise, nemusculum ibidem opacum, fontes liquidi et gemmei, prata florida, antra muscosa, rivi levis et per saxa discursus, necnon solitudo et quies musis amicissima.'

i.e. hermits, 'and lived one part by livery from the Priory, for then it (*i.e.* the Priory) was a worshipful place, and by alms from the castle and burgesses of the town, and of devout people of the country. And so it continued to the later days of King Edward III., until Earl Thomas took it to him and found the priests food, delivered to them out of his own coffers, and after, his son Earl Richard endowed it with livelihood, and made it a chantry of 2 priests.'

The researches of Dugdale confirmed this story, as he found a patent of protection for the hermit Thomas of Leedes¹ there in 1335, and a salary of £5 was paid to the hermit John Burly in 1410,² to pray for Richard Beauchamp and his father and mother. The licence in mortmain for the regular foundation of the chantry was obtained in 1420,³ and it was fully endowed in 1429 with the manor of Ashorne and other lands, William Berkeswell, afterwards Dean of Warwick, and John Bevington being the first priests. Further gifts were given by Earl Richard's will, and the whole cost and details of the foundation, amounting to £184, 0s. 5½d. (or some £3700 of our money), was seen by Dugdale in the earl's executors' accounts among the Warwick municipal records. According to him, the statue there was erected by Earl Richard, but the armour on it is of the date of Edward II., the date of the real Guy, Earl of Warwick, who beheaded Sir Piers Gaveston, the Gascon, on Blacklow Hill. The object of the foundation by Earl Richard was⁴ 'that God would send him an heir.' He did it 'at the stirring of a holy anchoress named Em Rawghton, dwelling at All Hallows in the North Street of York, for which Our Lady appeared to her 7 times in one year, and said that in time to come it should be a regal college of Trinity of a king's foundation, and it should be a gracious place to seek to for any disease or grief, and one of Sir Guy's heirs should bring his relics again to the same place.' The anchoress was rather a failure as a prophetess, since the earl had no heir by his first wife, and his son by his second wife, though made

¹ Pat., 8 Edw. III., pt. i. m. 17.

² Warwick Bailiff's Accounts, penes W. Pierpoint. Where are they now?

³ Pat., 1 Henry VI., pt. v. m. 5, and 9 Henry VI., pt. i. m. 23.

⁴ *The Rows Rol*, No. 50.

Duke of Warwick, died 'ere he had been a full quarter of a year out of his wardship.' The Trinity College and the royal founder never appeared at Guy's Cliff. The great Earl of Warwick, the king-maker,¹ who became earl in right of his wife, 'purposed to have endowed his place of Gybclyf with more livelihood for more priests and poor gentlemen . . . found there, as were at St. Cross of Winchester by the foundation of Master Harry Beauford, cardinal and bishop of Winchester.' But 'froward fortune deceived him at the end,' and the endowment was never given. The Duke of Clarence also intended to have performed the will and purpose of his father-in-law, but 'froward fortune maligned sore against him.' So Guy's Cliff remained to the end only a chantry of two priests, who divided between them a net income of £19, 10s. 6d., derived from 15 houses, 500 acres of land, 50 acres of meadow, and 30 acres of pasture. At the dissolution of chantries it was 'surrendered to Sir Andrew Flammock,² kt., by the King's Majesties licence by the said Sir Andrew obtained in that behalf,' and now belongs to a branch of the Percies.

Rows seems to have had some connection with St. Mary's as well as being chantry-priest at Guy's Cliff, and was perhaps a canon or vicar-choral there. Among the books in the inventory of 1464 above mentioned³ were '5 bokes being in the handes of Maister John Rowes, nowe prest, whiche were Sir William Rows', and bequath hem to the Dean and Chapitre of the forseid chirche collegiall under condicion that the seid Maister John, beyng prest, shulde have hem for his spiritual edificacion duryng his lief, and after his decees to remaine and be for ever to the seide Dean and Chapitre, as appereth by indentures.' This was no doubt the nucleus of the library in the south porch of the church, said to have been founded by Rows. It was destroyed, with doubtless many interesting records, in the fatal seventeenth-century fire which consumed the nave and the tower of the church.

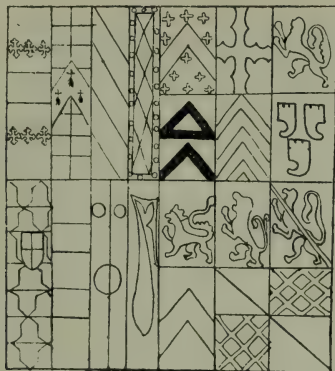
It is not his History of the Kings of England, but his Roll of the Earls of Warwick, which has made John Rows the

¹ *The Rows Rol*, No. 57, Syr Richard Nevell.

² Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 183.

³ *Harl. MS.*, 7505, p. 3.

most famous inhabitant of Guy's Cliff, and the most noted of Warwick schoolboys. He wrote this history in two forms,



*Richard Beauchamp,
Earl of Warwick,
godfather to Henry VI.,
founder of the
Beauchamp Chapel,
Warwick, and the
Chantry at Guy's Cliff.
The Rows Rol, 50.*

English and Latin, the former being the original and the earlier. In sixty-four short lives, adorned with portraits of

the subjects and their coats of arms painted in colours, he recorded all the earls of Warwick from Guthelinus 'hole kyng of Grate Bretayn,' A.D. 356, to 'the noble and mighty prince Edward, son and eyre to the most hye and excellent prynce, Kyng Richard the thryd and hys moost noble lady and wife Queen Anne,' who was 'second douhter and on of the Eys (heirs) of the most noble myghty and nobyll lord Sir Rychard Nevyll, Erle of Warrewyk and of Salusbury,' and was born in the castle of Warwick, June 1456, and christened 'yn Owre Lady Church there.' The drawings are admirable and invaluable for the heraldic student, though Rows does take the liberty of inventing arms for everybody he mentions, from Guthelinus downwards. The English is delightful in the easy freedom of its style and the frank phoneticism of its spelling, which varies not merely from page to page but from line to line. The date of its completion is fixed exactly by some complimentary references to Richard III. and his son, who was created Prince of Wales at York on Lady Day, 1485, and who died the same year. The Latin Roll dubbed Richard only the 'infelix maritus' of the Lady Anne of Warwick, and was dedicated to Henry VII.

In the English Roll Rows has preserved for us an interesting bit of the history of the school. He tells us where its local habitation was. It was one which shows us that the fifteenth century set an example to the sixteenth century of converting useless ecclesiastical endowments to educational usefulness. The mythical Seynt Craddok, Rows says, had built a church of St. John the Baptist, which in old evidences was called the monastery of St. John, 'wyche stondythe yet in the Market Styd, and is now the comon Scolehous for gramarians.' This old church in the marketstead was one of those which was annexed to St. Mary's by Bishop Whittlesey in 1369. It was then described as the Church of St. John, 'which stands in the middle of the marketplace (*in medio foro*) and has a rector without a manse, who is presented by the said Dean and the prebendary of the prebend now held by Richard of Pirinton. It is worth scarcely 4 marks (£2, 13s. 4d.) in yearly rent after the burdens on it have been duly borne. It has no cemetery or ecclesiastical burial, but its parishioners are buried

in the church of the glorious Virgin.' It was accordingly annexed to St. Mary's, and its parishioners were to attend that church, 'as they are all in the town of Warwick, which is not very large (*que non est multum spaciola*), and are quite near St. Mary's.' The statutes of 1369 refer to a separate ordinance as to the fabrics of the churches, but this we have unfortunately not got. In an account roll of St. Mary's for the year Easter 1464 to Easter 1465¹ is an entry of a receipt of '4s. for rent of a tenement lately in possession of Richard Grete which was a church in Warwick marketplace in ancient times; not accounted for here, because it is granted to the Schoolmaster (*Magistro Scholarum*) for teaching boys therein, by grant of the Dean and Chapter to hold at their pleasure.' It was still used for the school at the time of the dissolution of the college. In an account roll² for the year 1538-9 is an entry of 'Reparacions upon the Scolehouse in the market.' The items are curious for their spelling.

	s.	d.
Item paid to Palmer for viij hunurd [800] tile	4	0
„ for ij crests [<i>i.e.</i> ridge tiles]	0	2
„ for ij lood of sond	0	6
„ paid Christopher Tiler and his man after		
x ^d le day for vj days	5	0
„ payd for naylyng on wederbords.	0	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9	10

Other repairs are entered as done in the 'Schole house lane,' including a new 'Groundsell in the College garden wall by the Scolehouse,' and under a separate heading of 'Reparacions made this yere' is 3d. 'for a key for the Scolehouse dore.' It would therefore seem that there was another school close to the college, besides that in St. John's Church. This was probably the song and 'petites' school. We know that the song school went on as well as the grammar school. From

¹ *The Churches of Warwickshire* (Warwickshire Natural History and Archæological Society, 1847), H. T. Cooke, Warwick, p. 21. The original was in the possession of W. Staunton of Longbridge, purchased for the Birmingham Public Library and burnt there.

² Record Office, Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Books, No. 494, p. 71.

the inscription on a monument in the nave, preserved by Dugdale,¹ to Lawrence Squire (Esquer), a canon who died 29 May 1493.²

'Within this tomb lies Lawrence, famous priest,
Whose virtue made him shine among the best.
From thee boys learnt full tunefully to sing,
Nobly thou ledst the chapel of the King.
Thou shall not die, but ever live in story,
And thy voice ever be thy chiefest glory.'

In 1409 we find a grant to William Witteney, clerk and organist, and Margery his wife, and among the books in the inventory of 1464 is 'j organ book bound with bordes, of Witney's gift, of parchemyn, having a quayer of paper prikked in the beginning of prikked songe,' *i.e.* harmony. The only other books mentioned, which may have been intended for the use of the song school, were 'j catholicon (a dictionary) and ij sawters ligging in the choer, every tyed with a chaine of iron.' The choristers were six in number, the number of the canons. They were gorgeously dressed on occasion. For among the vestments in the same inventory were 'coopes (copes) for the chorestours, of whyte bustyan lined with blake, one old dark bord Alisaundre, one lined with lynen cloth, and ij of reed (red) bord Alisaundre, one having gartiers in the orfray (border) and the other sterres of gold in grene, ij of blew bord Alisaundre havynge in there orfrais suns like old mens visages.' But if the choristers dressed gorgeously in church they did not lie too soft in their beds, as in 1537 we find an entry of 'ij^d for pese straw for the quaresters.' The choir had some sort of high jinks on 'Shere Thursday,' the day before Good Friday, when apparently they all 'shered' or shaved their heads. For the 1537 account has the following item: 'Payd at the Maundy of Shere Thursday for fyve caks made

¹ Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 348.

² 'Conditur hic tumulo, Laurenti, clare sacerdos,
Numine virtutis et probitate nitens,
Te pueri cantum didicere docente sonorum,
Regia te splendet sacra capella duce.
Non moreris, vives per secula cuncta perhennis
Et tibi præcipue gloria vocis erit.'

in loves sheld-wyse (cakes in the shape of shields), 10d.; Item 10 wiggs for the Vicars, 10d.; 8 wiggs for 8 clerks, 8d.; 6 wiggs for 6 queresters (*i.e.* choristers—the word queresters is still used at Winchester college for the choristers), 3d.; Item j spare wigg to drink withall, 2d.; Item in ale 4 galons, 8d.; a potell of sac (sack), 6d.; In claret wyne, a quart, 2½d.’ Sweet wine was even then used for Communion wine, ‘for a galon of swete wyne for the Vicars on Ester day, 12d.’ The vicars also had ‘a calves hed with the appurtenances for their painstaking in confession att Ester, 8d.’ They assisted the ‘parishe preest’ who received 6s. 8d., while Sir William Edwards, probably a residentiary canon, received 13s. 4d. for the same.

Like other places where there were schools, as at Winchester and Eton, the ceremony of the Boy Bishop¹ was observed. On 6 December, the day of St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra, one of the boys dressed up as bishop and the other boys dressed as canons usurped the places of the dean and canons and performed the whole service of the day, including the mass, the boy-bishop giving the blessing. They went in procession through the streets, and wound up with a great supper. It was no tinsel show. For among the vestments were ‘iij coopes for Saint Nicholas, Bishop, whereof j is of whyte satyn powdered with trefoilles like golde, and the other ij buth (beeth=are) of blew satin powdred with rooses like gold. Item j myter of white silk poudred with T. and M.,’ probably for Thomas and Margaret Beauchamp, ‘and thereto iiij peeches and iij pynnes of silver and gild to make the myter widdir, if nede be. And j cros of coper gild, iij peire of wollen gloves and v ringes of gold and silver with an emerawde, j with a ruby, j with a blaw (blue) stone, and j flat owche (brooch) of silver gild garnished with v stones. Item for the Busshop (*i.e.* the boy-bishop) j chesiple (chasuble) j aube (alb) and j amyte with parures, al of good cloth of silk powdred with lyonnys of silver, the orfraies of the chesypyle of blak cloth gold.’ ‘Iij tunicles for children whereof ij beeth of grene bord Alisaundre, the orfraies of yelow silk, and the

¹ See my paper on ‘The Schoolboys’ Feast,’ *Fortnightly Review*, N.S. LIX. (1896), 128; and *The Mediæval Stage*, by E. K. Chambers, chapter xv., I. 336.

third of russet bord Alisaundre, the orfraies of reed mailed (enamelled) of grene' were seemingly connected with Bishop Nicholas. 'Xv aubes and xv amytes with the parures for children, and xij surplices for children and ij for the sexteyn' may be intended for the grammar school boys. The boys probably also performed plays, as among the books of the church in the inventory of 1464 was 'j book of the Kynges of Coleyn, contenyng also in hem other divers tretises, ligging in the choer, tied togider with one cheyne of iron.' The Magi or Three Kings of Cologne were a favourite subject for plays.¹

Such are the faint and casual remains of the history of the schools of Warwick before the Reformation. They only serve to show that the school went on and was conducted on the lines of other grammar schools, of which we know more, though little enough.

¹ See my paper 'Some English Plays and Players.' in the *Furnivoll Miscellany*, 1901, p. 218; and *The Mediæval Stage*, F. K. Chambers, II. 44.

CHAPTER VI

DISSOLUTION AND REFOUNDATION

THE end of the college and of the old school is almost as obscure as their beginning. All that has hitherto been known about it is that the college was dissolved before the charter of Henry VIII., commonly but wrongly dated 1546, founded the King's New School. The Chantry Certificate for Warwickshire¹ made under the act for the dissolution of colleges and chantries in the early part of 1546 contains an appendix of 'Dyvers Chantries unsurveyed and no rentalls thereof delyvered,' the reason or 'consyderacions whereof herafter ys declared.' Among these is 'the College of Warwick,' of which it is stated: 'The sayd college was surrendered into the King's Majesties handes aboute the day of in the yere of hys Hyghnes reigne by the Deane and chapytur of the same College and dothe as yet remayne in the Kynges Majestie's handes at these presens.' The hiatus of the date of surrender is *valde deflendus*, as it cannot be supplied from other sources. There are many surrenders of colleges and hospitals and monasteries preserved at the Record Office, and the Close Rolls contain notices of many more, but that of Warwick is not one of them.

The priory of St. Sepulchre, Warwick, was surrendered among the lesser monasteries on 30 October 1538. Not only was the college not surrendered for several years afterwards, but at the very time the priory was in process of surrender Latimer, as Bishop of Worcester, was writing to the Privy Seal, Thomas Cromwell, the king's vicegerent in matters ecclesiastical, to procure it further endowment. On 17 June 1538² he wrote 'broken-winded' to Cromwell, enclosing a

¹ *Chan. Cert.*, 32.

² *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII., 1538, pt. i. 445.

complaint from the canons of Warwick by which 'bill enclosed he might perceive how the world doth wag with Warrwycke College. I (Latimer) have told Mr. Wattwoode [the Treasurer of the College] at London to hasten home for sparing expense, and refer the suit to his (Cromwell's) remembrance, but he (Wetwood, as he is otherwise spelt), delights to lie at London at the College cost, and cares neither for statutes nor injunction.' Latimer then proceeds to ask Cromwell 'to be good lord to the poor college. . . . As the King has the chief jewell that they had, his Highness should remember them with some piece of some broken Abbey or they will grow shortly to naught. The Vicars and their ministers sing unwaged,' while the bishop himself 'is fain to reward the readers of the Scripture lecture which he enjoined.' The dispute with Mr. Wetwood raged for some time, as on 2 October¹ Latimer writes again to Cromwell that he had said nothing against Wetwood 'but what he dare avow.' Wetwood was 'put up at the Visitation as a lecher and fighter and disquieter of his company,' *i.e.* the college, 'and he cannot get him to answer.' Cromwell is invoked 'to get some good order into the College.' Next year Wetwood is found defending himself and accusing his colleagues, but on 11 April 1539² Latimer encloses to Cromwell a letter (not preserved) 'to show what good change and renovation Cromwell has wrought in Mr. Wattwood.' Six months later, 13 September,³ the college, headed by John Wetwood, 'President,' is found protesting to Cromwell that they cannot give William Neale a lease of Baginton, one of the college lordships which Cromwell had urged for him, because it contained quarries and timber out of which the church and college were kept in repair; they paid Neale already £2 a year fee out of the manor, 'doing nothing for it.' 'It would be dishonesty and shame to grant anything so hurtful to the college,' they would grant him any other 'farm' as heretofore.

On 31 May 1540⁴ a new canon, William Wall, was

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII., 1538, pt. ii. 203.

² *Ibid.*, xiv. pt. i. 740.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁴ Pat. 32, Henry VIII., pt. v. m. 32. The patronage had come to the crown on the attainder of the Earl of Warwick under Henry VII.

appointed by the crown to the prebend of St. Michael, in place of Thomas Lesonne, deceased. As late as 3 May 1542¹ a new dean, in the person of John Knightley, was appointed by the king by letters patent on the resignation of John Carvanell, who had held office since 1515,² and he was admitted on 15 May, undertaking to pay a pension of £8, 17s. 9d. a year to Carvanell. The first intimation we have of the surrender having taken place is in the accounts of the revenues of the crown in Warwickshire for the year Michaelmas 1543 to Michaelmas 1544,³ when we find 'the lands and possessions of the late College or collegiate church of the Blessed Mary of Warwick surrendered.' No arrears or surplus of the year before are accounted for because, as is said, 'this is the first account.' Three canons' houses in North Street, in the occupation of three late canons, William Wall, David Vaughan, and Robert Whittington, are charged to them at £1 a year as tenants at will, while a 'tenement called the Vicars' house' is let to John Wallwayn at 30s., and the dean's house in the churchyard of St. Mary's, with 'the Pool, yard, and pond ther, containing by estimation 3½ acres, in Smith Street in the suburbs of Warwick, by Kenilworth lane on the east, and on the west by a close called the Round Table, is let to Richard Catesby, Esq., as tenant at will for 40s.' In the 'discharge' or expenditure side of the account, Walter Wroth, bailiff, the accountant, claims to be allowed 10s. for 'the Deane's House,' late in the tenure of the dean, and 5s. for each of the then canons' houses, and 5s. for the 'Vicars coralls house, late in the tenure of the Vicars Choral,' for the rent up to St. John Baptist's Day, 24 June, 'because the same were occupied by the Dean and Chapter to that day rent free by the order of the King's Commissioners at the time of the surrender.' Further, in accounting for the vicarage of St. Nicholas, the bailiff claims allowance of £5, 16s. 8d. paid to the dean and chapter 'towards the expenses of their house before the surrender,' up to and including the Invention of the

¹ Pat. 34, Henry VIII., pt. iii. m. 26.

² The privy seal for his appointment was dated 8 January, and the patent 10 January, 8 Henry VIII., and he was admitted 8 March 1515.

³ P.R.O. Exch. Min. Acc. 35-6, Henry VIII.

Holy Cross Day, which was 3 May. The surrender, therefore, took place between 3 May and 24 June 1544, the dean and chapter being allowed to hold their houses rent free up to the later date, being then as now a 'usual quarter day.'

The school, no doubt, continued also. In the college accounts for 1538-9¹ there were, as we saw, payments for repairs of the schoolhouse in the marketplace. In the ministers' accounts for 1543-4, under the heading of 'Rents at Will,' is included 'Rent of a tenement with appurtenances called le Scholehouse, let to John Thomson at the will of the Lord, for this year, at 4s.,' and no allowance is claimed for this for the half-year as in the case of the canons and vicars-choral's houses. We might have assumed that Thomson was schoolmaster, but another account² contains the item: 'The Marketplace. Tenants at will. Thompson, tanner, holds a tenement called "le Scolehouse" at 4s., payable at the 4 usual terms.' Most of the property of the college was soon disposed of. From the accounts for 1544-5³ it appears that the dean's house, together with 'the Round Table' and 'Cuckoo church lands,' had been granted to Richard, Roger, and Robert Taverner on 14 February 1545. On 30 March and 3 April the manor of Bathkington was granted, one half to Francis Goodiere, the other to Henry Audeley and John Maynard.

These sales may have stirred the people of Warwick up to save something for themselves out of the wreck, and they obtained from the king a grant of what apparently they had found of real service to themselves, the vicarages of St. Mary's and St. Nicholas's and Budbrooke and the grammar school. It might have been supposed that this grant was due, as it is indeed expressed in the grant to be due, to the 'grace, certain knowledge, mere motion' of the king himself. But fortunately an unexpected record reveals the truth. A few years after the 'voluntary' dissolution of all the monasteries and some few hospitals and colleges, of which Warwick was one, there was passed in 1545⁴ an act, commonly called the Chantries

¹ P.R.O. Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Books, No. 494, f. 71.

² P.R.O. Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Books, No. 64, f. 223b.

³ P.R.O. Exch. Min. Acc., 36-37 Henry VIII.

⁴ 36 Henry VIII.

Act, enabling the king at his pleasure to enter on all colleges, chantries, gilds, and brotherhoods whatsoever, and a commission was issued to survey and report on the possessions of all such establishments throughout the country. In the report for Warwickshire we find in Warwick the 'Gild of Holy Trinity and St. George in the town of Warwick,' consisting of a master and brethren, with possessions amounting to £32, 10s. 5d. a year (which is under-estimated at £650 a year of our money), which, after supporting four gild-priests, of whom more anon, was employed on repairs of 'a great bridge containing 13 arches bylded over the water upon Avon and divers highways.' The maintenance of bridges and roads was largely done by charitable endowments, there being no county rates or highway rates for bridges and main roads in those days. At the end comes this interesting entry: 'Also the sayd Master and Bretherne hathe solde certeyne parcelles of lande to the yerely value of 39s. 8d. over and besides the rent before rehersed, sins the feast of the annuncyacyon of our lady in the 36 yere of the reigne of our sovereigne lorde the Kinges maiestye that nowe ys, and received therefore £39, 13s. 4d., whyche was expended and bestowed for the optaynyng and establysshement of the Kynges maiestyes foundation of the parrishe church of Warwick and the Kinges new scole within the same towne.' To the generosity and foresight, therefore, of the members of the Gild of the Trinity and St. George, Warwick is indebted for the great charity called King Henry VIII.'s charity, and its noblest part, the grammar school, which has done so much throughout the 450 years which have since intervened for the town and people of Warwick. Had it not been for the gilds-men, that is, in effect, the better-to-do and well-disposed people of Warwick itself, the school of Warwick would have disappeared for ever, as did the schools of many a college not less great or noble than Warwick, or have lingered on with a truncated endowment in a semi-animate condition until it finally sank into inanition and became an inferior elementary school, as happened in numberless instances, to the great loss of the people of England.

What, then, was the gild which thus stepped in to save this great institution from destruction? It was a union of two

different, and, at first, perhaps more or less rival institutions, which, at the time of its suppression in 1548, had enjoyed a corporate existence in the eye of the law for something over one hundred and fifty years, and most probably had existed in reality for many years before that.

By payment of the large sum of 80 marks, that is £60 (representing £1200 at least of our money and relatively a great deal more), Robert of Dyneley, William Russell, and Hugh Cook, on 20 April 1383,¹ obtained licence from King Richard II. to begin a brotherhood or gild (*inire quandam fraternitatem seu gildam*) of themselves and of burgesses of the town of Warwick and of other brethren and sisters, in honour of St. George the Martyr, and a chantry of two chaplains in a chapel over the gate called Hanging Gate (Hengyngate), and licence to Thomas of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to grant them the advowson of St. James's Church over the said gate, and further licence to acquire lands not held of the crown in chief to the value of £10 a year. The chaplains were to pray for the souls of Queen Anne and the king's mother, Edward III. and Edward, Prince of Wales, and the brethren and sisters of the gild.

A few days later, 2 May, on the petition of Thomas of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and his brother William, William Hobbys (or Hopkyns), John Coke, John Lyndraper (linen-draper), and ten others received similar licence to begin a brotherhood and gild of the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Virgin Mary in St. Mary's Church, and to elect a master every year and make ordinances, on condition that no ordinance was made to the prejudice of church or crown; and by a further patent a few days later, for 40 marks (£30) paid, they were given licence to acquire lands up to £20 a year for three chaplains to pray for the souls of Earl Thomas and Margaret his wife, Richard their son, and William his brother.

It does not appear what the difference between the two guilds was; whether, in fact, one or other of them was really composed of particular trades—the Trinity Gild was in many places the gild of the cloth workers, the greatest industry in England—or whether both were merely social and religious

¹ Pat., 6 Richard II., pt. iii. m. 16.

gilds, though, if so, it is difficult to see why there were two gilds instead of one. The main difference apparent was that the Trinity Gild was located in the collegiate church, was under the special patronage of, and in its chantry aspect was specially to pray for, the earl and his family; and though apparently the richer and larger, was yet charged only half the fine for taking double the amount of lands in mortmain.

St. George's Gild was located, on the other hand, in St. James's Chapel, then, as now, over the west gate of the town, and probably then deserving, even more than now, its picturesque and descriptive name of the Hanging Gate, as there was a large and deep moat immediately below it. It admitted not only men but women to its membership, a feature which was common to all the trade gilds or city companies of London, and rather points to its being really a trade gild. It is a little mysterious how it came to pass that the earl had the advowson of St. James's. In the Chartulary of the collegiate church there is a grant by Earl Roger, apparently made before the union of All Saints' and St. Mary's, witnessing that he had granted 'to God and the canons of Blessed Mary of Warwick in pure and perpetual alms the chapel of St. James, which is founded by their assent in their parish over the west gate of my borough of Warwick, with the croft outside the moat (*fossatam*) which extends along from the said chapel to the chapel of St. John.' In the inquisition of 1367 St. James's, which with other churches was found to have by some means become alienated from the college, was again united and annexed to it, and abolished as a church, the parishioners being ordered to attend St. Mary's.

In 1389, the powers being suspicious that the gilds were used as political organs, perhaps for the promotion of another Peasants' Revolt, a general return of the objects and ordinances of the gilds throughout England was ordered. There is no more interesting collection of documents in the country, none which shed more light on the social and religious life of the time, than these returns. How far the order for the return was obeyed we do not know. Copious records remain for London and the eastern counties. Elsewhere the records

are but scanty. But Warwickshire is rich in them, and among those of Warwickshire are preserved the returns of our two gilds.¹ French was then, or was supposed to be, the vernacular for laymen, and accordingly, in French of the Stratford-atte-Bow kind, John Irenmonger, master of the St. George's Gild, makes his certificate. He sets out the letters patent of our lord the now king (the original has *qorest=qui or est*). He says no lands have yet been acquired under the licence, but four times a year the brethren and sisters assemble at St. James's Church and pay 6d. a quarter 'in aid of the maintenance of a chaplain singing in the same church for the souls aforesaid.' 'And in case any of the brethren or sisters come to grief (*veigne a mischief*) by which they are brought to nothing (*anients*) they are relieved by the alms of the brethren and sisters according to their estate: and if anyone of the brotherhood is outlawed, excommunicated or attainted of perjury he is turned out of the gild, till he obtain a charter of the king and is restored to the law of the land or reconciled to the law of holy church.' 'Besides that, on St. George's Day, the members carry 4 tapers and 4 torches to "Notre Dame" in Warwick, and there have sung a solemn mass and make offerings as they please and leave the tapers and torches to burn there, and afterwards dine together in the house of the master.' Though no grant had been made under the licence, yet a year before it Nicholas Southam, chaplain, and Robert of Plaster of paris (*de Plastre parys*) granted to John Cook, William Tylman, and other burgesses and Robert Walker,² lands in Warwick, Stratford-on-Avon, Alcester and 'Wytenassch,' worth 33s. 6d. a year, without any trusts except that if they could get the royal licence they 'would amortise (*i.e.* convey in mortmain) the lands to the Gild to find chaplains according to the amount of the rent.' Their sole possessions otherwise were '8s. 7d. in the common box, a chalice, a missal, two "pairs" (or sets) of vestments, a chest to hold them, which, with the ornaments of St. James's chapel, were worth in all

¹ P.R.O. Chancery Gild Certificates, 441, 442.

² All the names, it may be noted, are trade, not personal names: the plasterer, the cook, the tyler, the walker or fuller, who trod or fulled the cloth.



THE LEYCESTER HOSPITAL, FORMERLY THE GILD HALL, AND ST. JAMES'S CHAPEL
ON THE HANGING GATE, WARWICK.

£5, a mortar (a light) worth 3s. 4d., and pewter vessels worth 3s. 6d.' John Wilkyns, the master of the Gild of the Trinity and Blessed Virgin Mary, makes a return in the same words, *mutatis mutandis*, with the difference of the day and the souls prayed for, and that this gild had no sisters, but had three chaplains instead of one, and that they met at St. Mary's on Trinity Sunday and had twelve tapers or wax candles instead of four, and dined in livery (*vesture de suyt*), (they were, in fact, a "livery company," which St. George's Gild apparently was not) while long, "6 years or more," before the licence in mortmain they had vested in trustees or feoffees, as they are called, land worth £10 a year. The goods of this gild comprised 'four sets of vestments, two chests for them, ornaments worth 10 marks, two Durham pots (*deux pottes duresme*) worth 20s., two cloths (*napes*) worth 8s., a mortar (a light) worth 3s. 4d., and a service of pewter worth 3s. 6d.'

Three years later both the gilds put themselves in order by conveying their property under the licence in mortmain. Inquisitions *ad quod damnum*, to see whether it would be any loss to the king, were held as to the Trinity Gild on 30 June, and as to St. George's on 21 September 1392. The former's 6 messuages, 3 tofts, 12 cottages, 8 shops, 38½ acres of arable land, 3 roods of meadow and 30s. rent were worth £6, 6s. 1d. a year, while the latter had only 2 messuages, 1 toft and a quarry, worth in all 12s. 6d.

We know very little more of these gilds. They were united before 1415. For on 15 October that year Robert Cok, the chaplain of St. Anne's or Waldennes Chantry, founded by Robert Walden (who was one of the feoffees of the gild lands in 1382) on 11 April 1401,¹ at the altar of St. Anne on the north side of St. Mary's Church, made John Boole 'the master of the Gild of Holy Trinity and St. George,' and the brethren and sisters of the gild the trustees of the endowment of the chantry.²

¹ Worc. *Reg. Tidemann*, f. 59, where the ordinance is set out and Robert Cok admitted as the first chaplain. On the admission of John Walker, 31 January 1437-8 (*Reg. Bourchier*, f. 40), the same chaplain apparently is described as Robert Walden, so he was perhaps the founder's son or nephew.

² *Chart.*, f. 224.

In 1451¹ the gild was the recipient from John Walker, chaplain, of another endowment for an obit for his soul and that of Mr. Richard Nicholl. In the middle alley of the nave was an inscription to Richard Ellen, 'bucher,' once burgess and master of the gild of this town, who died 2 March 1466-7.² In 1487 the five chaplains of the gild, headed by apparently the same John Walker, contributed half a mark apiece to a subsidy for the Archbishop of Canterbury.³ Dugdale records Walker's epitaph in the upper end of the north alley of the nave: 'Here lies Sir John Walker, Chaplain of the Chantry of the Gild, who died 21 August 1491.'² There were five chaplains of the gild also who contributed to a subsidy to the king in 1513,⁴ and there are five chaplains entered in the Valor Ecclesiasticus in 1535, at which date each received the yearly stipend of £5, 6s. 8d., the junior in standing of whom, John Creese or Creeze, had been admitted on the presentation of Thomas Broke, master of the gild, 8 October 1533. But in the chantry certificate ten years later⁵ the gild is said to have been founded to find four priests only, '2 of the same prestes to syng within the parisshe church of Warwick, and the other 2 to syng within 2 chapelles bylded over 2 severall gates of the sayd town.' What had become of the fifth priest in the interval? Besides the priests, two singers, John Weryng and Philip Sheldon, received, the former £1, and the latter £1, 6s. 8d. a year, 'for good and laudable service in the choir of the parish church of the Blessed Mary of Warwick,' the gild thus taking over apparently one of the duties of the collegiate church. On the dissolution of the gild in its turn under the Chantries Act of Edward VI., the four priests each received⁶ a pension of £5 a year, only 6s. 8d. less than their full salaries, while these two singers, both of whom also received pensions of £6, 13s. 4d. and £8 a year respectively from the college, were given pensions of the full amount of their salaries; and Werynge was

¹ *Chart.*, f. 194.

² Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 316.

³ *Reg. Moreton*, f. 13.

⁴ *Reg. de Giglis*, f. 97.

⁵ *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 231, from *Chan. Cert.* 31, No. 35.

⁶ *Chan. Cert.* 57, No. 26.

still receiving it in 1559,¹ Sheldon having apparently died in the interval.

Besides the priests and singers, 'there are relyved² with parte of the said possessions 8 poore people called the'almes folke, to whome ys gyven wekelye 8d., amounting yerely to 34s. 8d., over and besydes 4 houses called thalmes houses, viz. everye couple a house and a gardein.' These almshouses are probably the houses still standing on the east side of the Leycester Hospital, just east of the gateway which gives access to it.

No mention is made of the Gild Hall in the certificates. But the crown revenue accounts in 1552 show a pension of £1 a year paid to Edward Rogers, 'keeper of the Gild Hall.' That there was one much earlier is however certain, as we hear of its being used for public purposes in 1447,³ when 'my lord of Suffolk had the rule and governance of the erledome of Warewyk,' during the short life of Anne, daughter of Henry, Duke of Warwick, when he tried a complaint made by the Bailiff of Warwick against John Brome of Bridge End, Warwick, in the Gild Hall. John Fisher, in Elizabeth's reign, told the Earl of Leicester that 'the Minister of the Guild and his bretherne, perceving that the lands of the Guild should goo away, gave to the Burgesses of the said towne the said house called the Guild Hall to be their Burgers' Hall,' with £10 a year toward the charges of St. Mary's Church.

The Gild Hall was apparently the Council Chamber, in the upper floor of Leycester Hospital on the east side. The larger hall, on the ground floor on the west side, with panes of horn in the windows instead of glass, undoubtedly dates from the fourteenth century, and was no doubt the dining-hall of the priests and almsfolk. The western side of the buildings and the street front are apparently of the reign of Henry V. or VI., when the union of the gilds took place.

The residue of the income of the gild, according to Henry VIII.'s certificate,⁴ 'ys ymployed toward the repayryng of a

¹ P.R.O. Min. Acc., 1-2 Eliz., No. 58.

² *Chan. Cert.* 53, No. 4a.

³ *Warwickshire Antiquarian Magazine*, pt. iv.

⁴ *English Schools*, p. 231.

greate bridge contayning 13 arches bylded over the water upon Aven and dyvers hyghe wayes, for the better resorte and accesse of the markett folke commyng to the same towne, without whiche yt wolde be a greate decaye to the hole towne'; or, as it is put in the later certificate of Edward VI., with plea for continuance of the gild, 'mayntayned the reparacions of one greate stone bridge conteynning one hundrethe yardes in length, whiche is a great increase of the markett and a staye to the said towne, so that of necessyte the said bridge must be kept in sufficient reparacions with divers other fowle and dangerous highwayes thereaboutes.'

The gild in fact, though nominally religious and social, performed here, as at Stratford-on-Avon and Birmingham, one of the chief functions of a town council, the maintenance of the roads and bridges. It is a grievous pity that the old Warwick bridge with its pointed arches was destroyed by a flood at the end of the eighteenth century, and that the present bridge which took its place was removed altogether to a new site merely for the amenity of the castle, thus destroying all the local landmarks and making the lines of the present streets all wrong.

The gild perished gloriously, in having as its latest acts obtained not merely a grant of the grammar school and the vicarages for the benefit of the town, but the incorporation of the inhabitants, and bequeathed to them its Gild Hall. The town till then had no independent corporate existence, being entirely subject to the earl and ruled by his bailiff and a jury of twelve burgesses. A writ in 28 Edward I. addressed to the mayor and bailiffs for the expenses of William of Sudeley and Philip of Rous, their members of Parliament, was no doubt only a mistake of the Chancery official, misusing a common form in ignorance, for there is no other trace whatever of a mayor of Warwick till one was created by charter of Charles II. on 13 October 1664. The earl was too big for the town. He imposed and took the tolls for the pavage and the markets and the fairs, and made them so oppressive that the market was almost deserted, until Earl Thomas, in 1358, had to free the burgesses of them altogether. But by the fortunate accident of the earldom escheating to the crown on the 'treason,'

in 1499, of Earl Edward, the son of George, Duke of Clarence, who by marrying the king-maker's daughter had become Earl of Warwick, Warwick became a royal borough.

Unfortunately, it seems impossible to ascertain exactly what means were employed to get the grant from Henry VIII., or what was paid for it. The Hanaper Accounts, in which the fine paid would be recorded, are not extant for this year, and the petition on which the grant was made is not attached to the 'particulars for the grant,' which were made out on 10 February 1545.¹ These particulars set out in Latin the valuation of the property asked for, and at the foot, in English, is written:—

'Memo. that the tenement aforesaid in uno vico vocato cannonne Rowe, being yerely 20s., must be geven to th'use of the sayd Viker and Scolemaster, and to twoo preests, one clerk with one sexten, forever; which twoo Preests with the clerk and sexten the said Towne must be bounden for to fynde forever at ther owne proper costs and charges.'

The incorporation of Warwick and the refoundation of the school were by charter, that is, by letters patent,² 15 May 1545. Most of the historians of the school and town have hitherto—even down to and including Mr. T. Kemp's history of this very year of grace—misdated the charter 1546, owing to the charter being dated, as usually, by the year of the king and not the year of the Lord. The arithmetical error was then committed of adding 37 to 1509, the year in which Henry VIII. came to the throne, to find out what year of the Lord is represented by the 37th year of Henry VIII. Of course, one year less than the number of the year of the king should be added to the year of accession. Henry VIII. having come to the throne 22 April 1509, his 37th year began 22 April 1545, not 1546, and the date of the charter is accordingly 15 May 1545, not 1546.

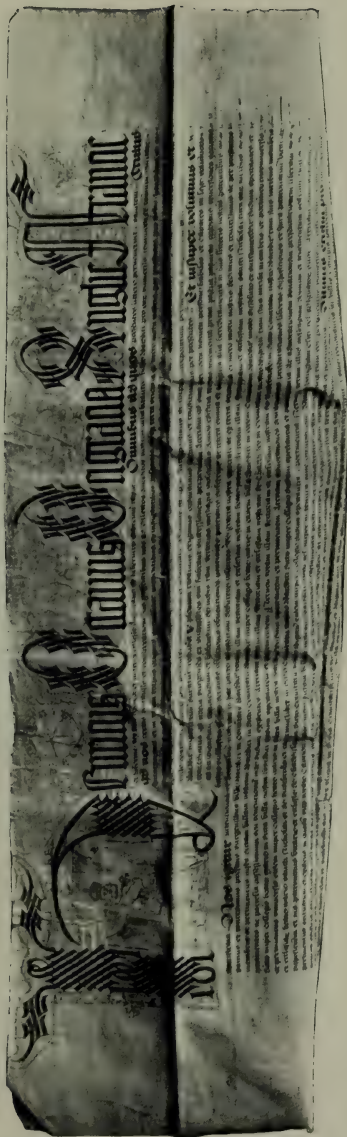
The charter begins by saying that 'for certain causes and considerations urging us to incorporate and erect into one body our beloved subjects, the inhabitants of the town of

¹ P.R.O. Aug. Office. Particulars for Grants, 10 Feb., 36 Henry VIII., No. 1187.

² Pat., 37 Henry VIII., pt. v. m. 25 (23).

Warwick, for the good of them all and their common advantage (*pro eorum universo commodo et communi utilitate*), and specially moving and instigating us, we will and of our certain knowledge and mere motion grant to the said inhabitants that they shall be one body and community of themselves for ever by the name of Burgesses of the town of Warwick in the county of Warwick.' It then gives the usual legal incidents of a corporation, perpetual succession and a common seal, 'and that they shall be persons able and capable in the law only to receive, take, and have from us the rectories, messuages, mills, houses, buildings, lands . . . tithes . . . and all other hereditaments in these letters patent specified.' When later in the patent the use of a common seal is specifically granted, it is 'to serve only for matters touching the business aforesaid.' So the burgesses were not incorporated generally as a municipal corporation, but only to take the property granted in the charter. The charter then proceeds to grant 'all that our rectory and church of the Blessed Mary, and all that our rectory and church of St. Nicholas,' followed by similar grants of the rectories of Chaddesley Corbet and Budbrook, and the advowsons and rights of patronage of the vicarages of all these churches; and 'all that our messuage house and tenement . . . in Canone Rowe . . . late in the occupation of David Vaughan, clerk,' and its appurtenances; and all the lands, houses, etc., belonging to the rectories, 'all part of the late dissolved college of the Blessed Mary,' of the net value of £58, 14s. 4d. a year, to hold of the king 'by the service of the twentieth part of a knight's fee, at a rent of £6, 13s. 4d., to be paid to the Court of the Augmentation of the Revenues of the Crown. The incorporate burgesses were to take the profits from the Michaelmas previous, *i.e.* Michaelmas 1544.

In consideration of this grant, the burgesses in their turn granted to the king that they would 'yearly for ever pay a vicar of Blessed Mary, to be named and incorporated by the King and his successors, £20 a year, . . . and 40s. more for the tenth payable to the court of first fruits and tenths.' And now we come to the first mention of the school, 'and also that the same burgesses and their successors, burgesses of the town aforesaid, will pay, or cause to be paid yearly, from time to



CHARTER OF HENRY VIII, 15 MAY, 1545, FOR "THE KING'S NEWE SCHOLE OF WARWYKE."

time, for ever to the Master or Pedagogue of our school of the said town by us by these presents, in like manner to be named and incorporated, and his successors, Master or Pedagogue of the same school, £10 a year,' half-yearly; 'and that the same burgesses will, immediately after the sealing of these letters patent, make, or cause to be made, a sufficient gift and grant to the aforesaid vicar, and master or pedagogue, and their successors, of a convenient house, habitation, or mansion in the said town (*domo, habitaculo sive mansione*), for the dwelling and living (*habitacione ac mansione*) of the same Vicar and Schoolmaster and their successors for ever, to be made and sealed under their common seal.'

The burgesses also agreed to find and pay two priests, chaplains, a clerk and a sexton (*sacriste*) to serve in St. Mary's, with proper stipends; but in their case the charter does not specify any particular sum as then proper. The king then proceeds, 'by our supreme royal ecclesiastical authority which we enjoy,' to grant that 'there shall be and be called a perpetual vicar of the church of the Blessed Mary of the town of Warwick,' to be nominated by the crown, and to have perpetual succession, and perform all the duties of rector or vicar, except that he should not be liable to repair the chancel, with the stipend of £22 a year, and power of distress for it.

Then comes a similar creation of the school and incorporation of the schoolmaster, but it is prefaced by a solemn preamble which shows how much greater importance was attached to this than to that of the vicar. 'And further know ye that we, led by the singular love and affection with which we are no little moved to the ungrown up (*impuberes*) subjects of our kingdom in the county of Warwick'—not, be it observed, the town of Warwick only—'that henceforth, imbued from their cradles with more polite literature (*policioribus litteris*) than was usual before our time, when they have come to a more advanced age, they may turn out better instructed; thinking assuredly that so the church of England of Christ, whose immediate vice-gerent we are'—no pope or priest to come between—'may be adorned and glorified not only by learned men in the world of literature

but by wise men for the common wealth of the kingdom, by the tenor of these presents in fact, and fully create, erect, found, ordain, make, and establish to endure for all future times a Free School in the said town of Warwick, of a Master or Pedagogue; and we will and order that it be so established and inviolably observed for ever; and that the said school so by us founded, created, erected, and established, shall for ever be called and named in the vulgar tongue (*vulgariter*) "the King's New Scole of Warwyke," the very title of the school thus bewraying that it was not a school of the king's creation, but merely a new scheme recreating the old school.

A prolonged study of school foundation deeds of all times has revealed no nobler or terser statement of the objects of our great public schools than this of the resuscitated grammar school of Warwick. Church and State were, of course, regarded as one and the same, the supreme authority in both vested, for the first and perhaps also for the last time in English history, in the single person of the king; and in exercising that combined authority, he can find no better means of benefiting both than the erection of a school to train, not only men of learning for literary pursuits, but also men of practical ability and wisdom for the wider world of the public service, and the advancement of the nation in every path of progress.

The charter then goes on to provide that the schoolmaster shall be appointed by the crown, and that he too shall be a corporation having perpetual succession, and capable of receiving and holding not only 'the yearly rent and pension'—which simply means a regular payment or annuity—of £10 a year, with a clause of distraint to secure it, 'but also other lands, tenements, possessions, and hereditaments from anybody, besides the said £10, so long as they do not exceed the yearly value of £10.'

The rest of the lengthy document is taken up with somewhat vain legal repetitions, insisting that the salaries and houses shall be granted to the vicar and schoolmaster respectively immediately—they were apparently to live together in the same house—dispensing them both from the statute of mortmain in holding it, and also granting the burgesses

licence in mortmain up to 20 marks (£13, 6s. 8d.) a year. It was under this licence that the gild granted the Gild Hall and its property worth £10 a year.

After having read the subsequent history of the administration of the foundation, now called Henry VIII.'s charity, it is amazing to turn to the actual charter as now set out, and see, that except for the licence to acquire other lands, it contains not a single word referring to any grant to the burgesses for their own benefit, or for any public purpose whatsoever, except the ecclesiastical and the educational purposes mentioned in it. It cannot have been intended that they should get any corporate advantage out of the grant, or that the income should be applied to any other purpose than those ecclesiastical and educational purposes. For the whole net value was £58, 14s. 4d. a year. From this they had to pay:—

Rent to the Crown,	£6	13	4
Vicar's salary and tenth to the Crown, .	22	0	0
Schoolmaster,	10	0	0
2 Chaplains, say £5 each,	10	0	0
Clerk, say	2	6	8
Sexton,	2	0	0
Vicar of S. Nicholas,	13	6	8
Vicar of Budbrook,	5	3	4
	<hr/>		
	£71	10	0

leaving a deficit of £12, 5s. 8d. besides all the expenses of collection of rents, repairs of property, and bad debts. There is not a word to suggest that the burgesses took the property except as trustees, and the insistence in the charter on the fact that the incorporation is for those purposes only, and not a general incorporation, strengthens the view that the property was really given in trust for ecclesiastical and educational purposes, and no other.

Nor is this view weakened by the fact that when the town did obtain incorporation for general municipal purposes from Philip and Mary, on 22 November 1554 (a date so soon after their accession that the charter must have been prepared during the reign of Edward VI., under the influence of the much maligned John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke

of Northumberland), the new charter never refers at all to that of Henry VIII., nor to any of the objects mentioned in it; while the corporate title bestowed, 'Bailiff and Burgesses of the *Borough* of Warwick,' is studiously distinct from that of 'Burgesses of the town of Warwick,' given by Henry's charter. The inhabitants were, in fact, incorporated under two different names for two different purposes, precisely as the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London were incorporated under that name for municipal purposes, and under another name, that of 'Governors of the goods, possessions, and revenues of the Hospitals of Bridewell, Christ, and S. Thomas,' for the eleemosynary and educational purposes for which under charters of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. they obtained the 'Royal Hospitals.'

The same point clearly appears, if we compare the charter of the college possessions at Warwick with that which Stratford-on-Avon obtained a few years later from Edward VI. At Stratford, too, there were a college and a gild and a grammar school, and a great bridge over the Avon, even larger than that of Warwick, having 18 arches to be supported. At Stratford, too, part of the college possessions with the gild possessions were bought back for the maintenance of the vicar and schoolmaster; but other general town purposes, the bridge and the 'great charges' on the town, were also especially mentioned.

The reason of this difference was, no doubt, that when the Warwick charter was granted, the Warwick gild was still in existence, and there was perhaps no particular reason to suppose that it was in danger of ceasing to exist, and so the town still had its common possessions applicable to the bridge and other common town objects, and the college possessions having been always appropriated to ecclesiastical and educational objects, no one thought of applying them to any other purpose. At Stratford the gild had already been abolished, the grammar school had been supported out of the gild estate, not out of the college estate, and therefore it was only natural that the possessions bought back should be appropriated to the same objects, including general and municipal objects, besides the ecclesiastical and educational objects, to which they had before been applied.

Yet as a matter of history, the educational and ecclesiastical purposes which were the sole objects of the Warwick charter have received relatively a less share of the revenues of the foundation than at Stratford-on-Avon. Yet it would have been far better for the material interests of the town if it had been otherwise. Warwick School up to the middle of the eighteenth century occupied the place which Rugby has occupied since, and if it had been developed by a governing body of trustees with a single eye to its development, and not with an eye to their own interests or supposed interests, it might well have continued to occupy the position which Rugby has now taken, and the town of Warwick, with far greater advantages to start with, could have thriven, as the towns of Rugby and Bedford have thriven, on the progress of the school.

Owing to the destruction of documents which has taken place at Warwick no contemporary accounts remain to show exactly how the income of the charter lands was spent by those who had obtained the charter, and knew exactly what was intended by it. But Mr. John Fisher's account¹ given to Lord Leicester in 1569, on the foundation of Leicester Hospital, has all the force of contemporary evidence as to the meaning and effect of the charter. The income was, we saw, £58, 14s. 4d. a year. The king, says Fisher, 'appoynted what every man should have, as:—

	£	s.	d.
The Vikar of Saint Maryes should have by yere,	20	0	0
The Vicar of Saint Nicholas by yere, 20 marks,	13	6	8
The Skolemaister,	10	0	0
The Vicar of Budbrook, 103s. 4d.,	5	3	4
The byshop of Worcester,	1	0	0
The archdecon,	0	16	8
and reserved to his hieghness for the tenth of the premisses yerely,	6	13	4
besides for the tenth ² of the Vikar of Saint Maryes, 40s.,'	2	0	0
	<hr/> £59 0 0 <hr/>		

¹ *The Black Book*, p. 46.

² The tenths which with the firstfruits had been transferred to the crown, and now constitute Queen Anne's Bounty.

and he goes on to say 'so as the charge of the said towne issuing yerely was above the value given by His Majesty, which was supported by other means, by the pollyng of the inhabitants,' in other words by a rate. In point of fact, the charges specified by Fisher do not make up all the charges on the income of the lands. He omitted the two assistant curates, the clerk, for whom £2, 6s. 8d. would be an average charge, and the sexton, for whom £2 might have sufficed, besides the cost of repairing the chancel of the church and the repairs of the property, and it was no doubt for these charges that the rates were levied; a conclusive proof that the inhabitants did not and were not intended to get anything for themselves out of the trust. Similar testimony was given in the address of the Recorder of the town to Queen Elizabeth at her state visit on 12 August 1572, when he told her that her father had endowed the town, 'injoyning them withall to kepe a vykar to serve in the church and divers other ministers, with a skolemaister for the bringing up of youth in learning and vertu,' but that they would have lacked 'the heavenly food of their soules by want of preaching, the towne not being able to fynde the same by reason that the necessary charges and stipend of the minister'—it is curious to note how it is assumed as a matter of course that a vicar was not a preacher—'and other officers there farre surmount their yerely revenues, notwithstanding the bountiful gift of your noble father,' if Leicester had not endowed with £50 a year the master of Leycester Hospital to act as preacher.

CHAPTER VII

THE ELIZABETHAN ERA

FOR some time after the Reformation the little we know of the school is derived from the Black Book¹ of the corporation. This book was composed by John Fisher, who held the office of bailiff, the predecessor of the mayor, in 1564 and 1580, was member of Parliament for the borough, then a paid officer, in 1570 and 1573, and was for many years steward and town clerk. It begins on 21 December, 4 Eliz., *i.e.* 1561, with a dispute about the cost of the bailiff's yearly dinner, and goes down to the year 1588, with a few casual entries of later date.

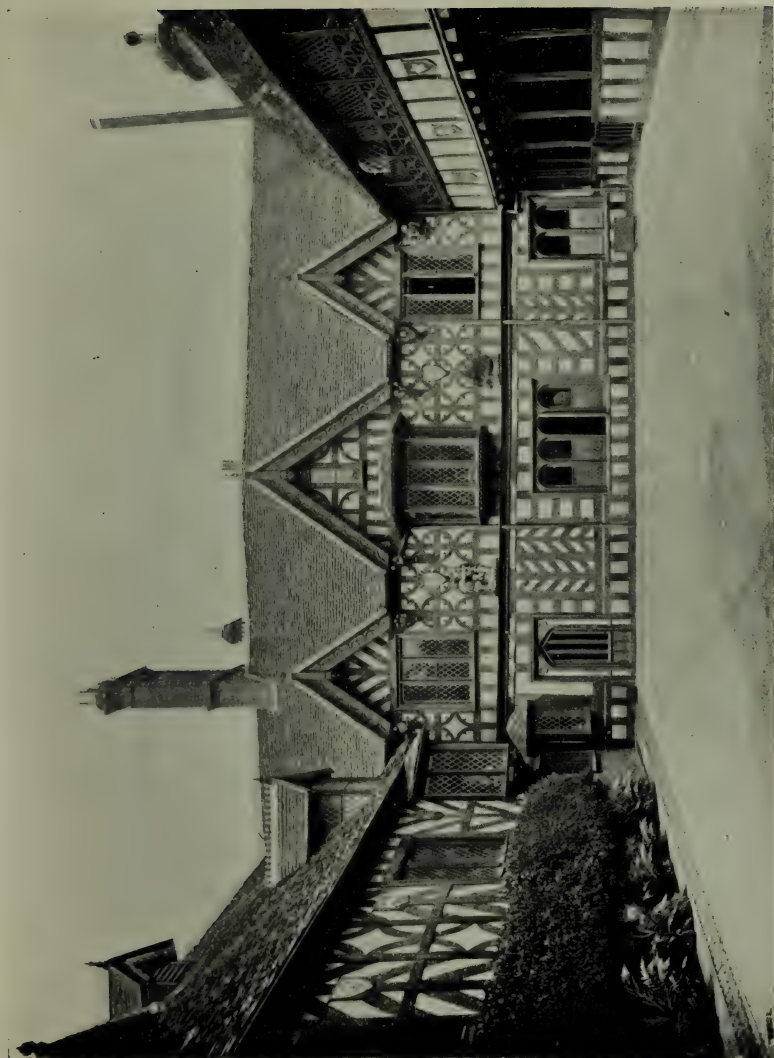
From this book we learn that as already shown in the last chapter, the school was now held in the old Gild Hall, then called the Burgers' Hall, now the Leicester Hospital. The old school, St. John's Church in the Market Place, no doubt a very small building, having passed to the crown, was, as we saw, let to a tanner. Probably the school was held in the hall, *i.e.* dining-hall of the hospital on the ground floor on the east. For the hall upstairs on the west was the council-chamber, as appears from the account of a violent quarrel which took place at the election of the 'Twenty-four' assistants to the bailiff and 'Twelve Principal Burgesses' in 1564, when Mr. John Fisher was mayor. After turbulent speeches by Thomas Powell, a hot-blooded Welshman apparently, who 'by God's blood' gave the lie to one of the burgesses, the bailiff ordered the serjeant to take Powell into custody. Seventeen others, however, said that 'if Powell went to warde they would

¹ *The Black Book of Warwick*, Henry T. Cooke and Son, Publishers, High Street, Warwick; no date. It was, in 1898, transcribed and edited by Mr. Thomas Kemp, Mayor for two years, 1892-4, and now again in 1905-6.

go with him, whereupon they went down the stayres together.¹ And being come downe Powell and Jenks saye to the serjaunt, "get thee away, or ells thowe shalt have thy pate beaten and thy master his hands full." Whereupon the serjeant cam up agayn and told the words to the bailief and his company. And then the bailief arose and went into the galery to see the demeanour of those that departed.' This is the outside gallery and staircase still in use in the hospital. It is amusing to find that the bailiff, seeing what their demeanour was, thought better of the arrest, and that four years afterwards Thomas Powell was himself elected bailiff.

The school reappears in the foundation deed of Thomas Oken's charity in January 1571. Thomas Oken was an important member of the corporation, and had been a member and one of the last masters of the old gild, probably the very last, as he was master in 37 Henry VIII., the last full year before its dissolution. He clearly shows by his foundation deed that he hankered after the times that were gone. His charity was largely directed to preserving dying customs and obsolete ceremonials. By deed 1 January, 13 Elizabeth, *i.e.* 1570-1, he enfeofed Thomas Burges, bailiff, and five others, in certain lands to the use of himself for life, and after his death to the use of Richard Row and eleven others, probably the 'principal burgesses' of the time, on trust for all sorts of objects; wells, bridges, roads, paving streets, scavenging, and the like. Among the more curious of the gifts was one of '20d. among the young men of S. Mary's parish to make merry withal at the cutting down of the Whitsuntide ivy, if any there should be standing at the High Cross, and at the end of their mirth to say the Lord's Prayer and to praise God for the soul of the said Thomas Oken, Joan his wife, and all Christian souls departed,'—a provision probably as near as he dared to go to the 'superstitious' obit and prayers for the souls of the dead. Another equally curious gift was one of '3s., among the neighbours of the bonfire of the said Thomas Oken in High Pavement Ward, and 2s. among neighbours of the other bonfires on vigils of the days of S. John the Baptist and S. Peter,' the medieval survival of the primeval bonfires on

¹ *Black Book*, p. 13.



THE LEICESTER HOSPITAL. THE HALL ON THE LEFT USED FOR THE SCHOOL TEMP. ELIZABETH.

Midsummer's Day. He went as near as he could to the old gild ceremonials, providing for such a service at St. Mary's to be said or sung within eight days of his decease 'as then should be used and suffered by the laws,' with a learned man to make a sermon for 6s. 8d., and, on the anniversary of his decease, 20s. for 'a dinner for the bailiff and 12 principal burgesses, and three of the most honest and substantial commoners of any (*i.e.* every) of the eight wards to make merry withal, and in the end of the dinner to say the Lord's Prayer and to praise God for the soul of the said Thomas Oken,' and so on as in the case of the 'young men.'

Oken's educational gifts were twain. He gave '40s., to the use of the schoolmaster to be found and kept in the town of Warwick for ever to teach petties and poor men's children within the said town.' Petties meant, of course, petits, the little ones, and this payment was probably intended to find a substitute for the old song schoolmaster who, as we saw, was in the fourteenth century allowed to teach elementary subjects. Whether this was intended to be paid to the usher of the grammar school or to an independent elementary master is not clear. In after days it was one of the payments made to the master of the Bablake or Boblick school over the East Gate. Oken also gave '45s. to a learned schoolmaster'—it is to be noted that the epithet 'learned' distinguished the master of the grammar school from the master of the petties—'towards the augmenting of his wages to and for the teaching of a grammar school within the said town of Warwick, and, if he should not be learned or should not use himself diligently, then to some other good use or uses as should be thought most meet by the bailiff and principal burgesses and the said three most substantial commoners of the eight wards.'

It shows the care of the good people of Warwick for their school that in 1827, when the rental of the Oken charity estate had risen to £670 a year, the sum of £1 for the dinner had been increased to £30, £2 to the petty schoolmaster had been increased to £13, but the sum of £2 to the grammar schoolmaster still remained the same as it was at the beginning. It was pleaded by the Corporation to the Commissioners of Inquiry into charities that it was no longer possible to provide

a decent dinner for some 30 persons for £1. It did not seem to have occurred to the corporation that it was equally impossible to consider £2 a year an adequate augmentation of the salary of the headmaster of an important grammar school.

The dinner still keeps the memory of Thomas Oken in the odour of sanctity. He is further commemorated by a brass in Saint Mary's, dated 1573, made, according to his will, 'against Saint Anne's altar hard to the wall, and on the tombe to have an epitaph of brasse with twoo pictures, one of my self and the other of my wieff, with these words graven under, "Jesu have mercy uppon me."' He died on 30 July 1573. Before the breath was out of his body a sordid and unseemly squabble took place over his will, as is recorded in the Black Book by Mr. John Fisher, one of the beneficiaries and an executor.

Before Oken's bequest took effect a much more important event in the history of the school followed on the visit, in 1571, of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the famous favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and his elder brother Ambrose, Earl of Warwick. Queen Elizabeth had reversed in favour of Ambrose the attainder of his father John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, better known under the title of Duke of Northumberland and as the father of Lady Jane Grey, and had revived in Robert's favour the ancient title of Earl of Leicester, which had 300 years before merged in the Dukedom of Lancaster and then in the Crown. To commemorate this double creation Leicester had, in 1571, obtained letters patent with licence in mortmain from the Queen, and an Act of Parliament, for the foundation of a hospital either in Warwick or Kenilworth with an endowment of £200 a year. He came down in state 'with many other noble lords and ladies to lie for 6 or 7 days at Mr. Thomas Fisher's house,' the Priory, to celebrate his creation on Michaelmas Day in St. Mary's Church by the French King Henry IV. as a Knight of the chief French Order, that of St. Michael. A Turkey carpet was spread for him to kneel on when he made his offering, like royalty, of a piece of gold at the communion table, 'placed where the altar had been.' Mr. Fisher, with evident relish, gives all the gorgeous details of his costume: his white velvet shoes and white silk hose, his

doublet of cloth of silver, his robe of white satin embroidered with gold a foot broad, the only thing about him not being white or gold being his black velvet cap with a white feather and his garter of Saint George about his leg. 'And yet surely,' says Mr. Fisher, 'all this costly and curious apparel was not more to be praised than the comely gesture of the same Earl, whose stature being reasonable was furnished with all proportion, and lineaments of his body and parts answerable in all things, so as in the eyes of this writer he seemed the only goodliest personage made in England.'

The bailiff and burgesses nearly missed the erection of the hospital at Warwick. They would not meet Leicester outside the town on his arrival because he was a subject and not a prince; and though they gave him a present of a yoke of oxen, they waited till the morning after his arrival to call on him, and then said nothing about the hospital, apparently expecting him to say something to them. So when they waited on him on his return from Kenilworth to the Priory where he lodged, and 'they doing their duties,' the earl 'passed by them hastily, saying he "would not chardge the towne so much" and would unneath look towards the said bailief or his company.' However, explanations and apologies were offered and accepted, and on departing the earl 'took them all by the hand, to their great rejoicing.' Next day, 'in his ways riding he came into the churchyard, viewed where he might build a convenient house for a Hospital for certain poore pepul.' But he did not like it, whereon John Butler, a 'principal burgess' and one of Leicester's men of business, suggested that 'the Burgers Hall' might do. So 'the said Earl alighted and went into the same and so into the chappell, and liked well thereof.' His surveyor reported it would be 'very convenient, so as the said Earl might have all, as well the chappell as skolehouse, Burgers hall and all other premises gardens and buildings.' The burgesses, it seems, wanted to retain the hall and school, for the Earl soon after¹ wrote that 'the whole would be little enough for his purpose. He nevertheless understood that the towne would reserve to themselves so much as should serve for the skole and for their counsell house; which, if it were so the

¹ *Black Book*, p. 39.

rest would not serve his turn, and then he would found his Hospital at Kenilworth.'

A meeting of the burgesses was thereupon promptly called on Saturday night in St. Mary's Church, and they agreed to give the whole of the property and St. James's Chapel 'without any money taking therefore, saving that vote and request should be made to his Lordship to be suitor to the Queens Majesty and my Lord of Warwick to bestow on the towne such waste grounds, such as the said Earle of Warwick tok no benefit of, to build them houses for themselves and for the skole and skolemaster, and that it might plesse the said Earle of Leicester to bestowe some tymbers towards the erection of the said houses.'

On Sunday, 5 November, they met again at the church and approved a letter to the earl which Mr. Fisher took to London. It was not for nearly three weeks that he was able to obtain an audience of Leicester at the Court at Greenwich, and endeavour to get a *quid pro quo* from him for the grant of the hall. His report of his conversation with the earl is most interesting. He told the earl that the salaries and wages assigned by Henry VIII's charter from the college property were at the time 'thought somewhat reasonable for men to live poorly upon,' but prices having since risen 'and every mans chardg also increasing by reason of wives and children,' (the substitution of a married for a celibate clergy and schoolmaster), they were not now sufficient 'for the sustayning of learned men with their families.' He therefore asked the earl to get a further grant from the tithes of St. Mary's, so as to increase the vicar's stipend from £20 to £30 or £40, and the rest in proportion, and 'the skole maister having but £10 might have £20 . . . and so these places might be furnished with learned and meet men, God's Word sincerely taught and the people of the same towne, besides the cuntrye about, with their children, better instructed'—an interesting remark, showing that the words of the school charters, which always included in the benefit of the grammar schools not only the children of the places where they stood but the country round about, were no idle form but represented the real wishes and practice of the day. Fisher therefore asked specifically for a

grant of St. Peter's chapel over the East Gate 'being ruynouse and ready to fall,' and 'the Shire Hall and the ground lieing thereto, with also all such wast ground lieing within the said borough and suburbs whereof the Lord of Warwick took no comoditye, whereon the said towne might build them a skole and place for the skolemaister and make them another Hall to serve their purposes . . . for their owne conferrens at such meetings and assemblies as for the good government of the said towne they had to do, as keeping of courtes and other conferrens, all which were used in the Burghers Hall.'

A most interesting discussion followed as to the state of the town and its trade. Leicester wanted to know what the burgesses did to prevent the increase of the poverty which his hospital was intended to relieve. Fisher said there was no great trade, 'most part' were provided with corn and had some husbandry. 'Some men with their travails lived uprightly as be called mercers, using to buy and sell spices, lynnene clothe which be called drapers, which twoo be most profitable trades within that towne.' Then there were maltsters, but not so profitable lately. To which the earl said he knew in a town in Essex four or five worth £1000 or £2000 a piece that had no other trade but malting. But he wondered they had no industry 'such as Sheldon of Beolye devised, the making of cloth or capping or some such like'—occupations requiring many workmen and women. 'And such may therein be employed as in no facultye else. For though they be children they maye spyn and carde; though they be lame they make pike and fre wooll.' Mr. Fisher said they had no 'stock.' He knew many who had tried cloth-making and failed for lack of capital. Besides, skilled labour was wanting, and means of communication 'a stoppe of entercourse.' The earl replied that skilled men could be got from Coventry, and he would help them with stock. But he would not like to be rebuffed, as he was at Beverley, where he and the county gentlemen had guaranteed £2000 worth of stock for six years to set up clothmaking and it was refused. Mr. Fisher promised that such an offer would not be refused at Warwick. And so the conversation ended.

The clothmaking project appears to have come to nothing,

and Warwick remains what it was then, and probably always has been since those times, a market town, living on a little 'husbandry' or 'graciers' and, as Leicester said, 'given as in most places men are, to easye trades of liefе.' One thing which tended to destroy the trade and limit the activity of towns like Warwick and Beverley¹ was the number and narrowness of the ancient craft-gilds. In old days those gilds had been useful alliances of traders to ensure honest work and fair dealing. But the element of protection, always present in such associations, in later times became predominant. At Warwick there is only indirect evidence of the existence of these trade gilds in pre-Reformation times from the entries in the Black Book of the trades coming in Elizabeth's time to the town authorities to sanction and establish revised ordinances, or 'books,' as they are called. The revision was necessary for the omission of the 'Popish' observances of lights, torches, obits and masses which had formed a conspicuous part of the old ordinances. But the opportunity was taken to tighten the bonds of protection and attempt to limit output and fix wages. Thus the ordinance of bakers in 1556² re-enacted a provision that no baker should take any bread for sale outside Warwick. A later ordinance of the art or craft of bakers in 1573,³ which retained traces of old times in the provision for a general meeting of the trade on St. Clement's Day, not only enforced apprenticeship for seven years, which was general law, but allowed nobody to become a baker in Warwick unless he had been apprenticed there, or paid the bakers' company or gild an entrance fee of £4, whereas apprentices in the borough only paid 3s. 4d. The bakers were now allowed to sell bread at Coventry on Wednesdays and Fridays, at Southam on Mondays and Rugby on Saturdays, but nowhere else. Similar restrictions were imposed on the glovers, prynt makers and skimmers,⁴ who met on St. Stephen's Day in the Skinners' Hall. Moreover, no one was allowed to deal in sheepskins who was not a member of the craft, though they might buy them to make the wool into cloth or yarn for their own wearing. The Walkers

¹ See my *Beverley Town and Gild Ordinances*, Selden Society, 1900.

² *Black Book*, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

(fullers) and Dyers,¹ who met on the purification of the Virgin (2 February), and the mercers,² haberdashers, grocers and fishmongers, who oddly enough formed one company, and met at the Mercers' Hall on St. John the Baptist's Day, 24 June, had similar rules. The entrance fee for 'foreign' mercers was as high as £10, and the same was the charge for butchers under 'the Boochers' Book.'³ The 'Drapers and Tailers' made an ordinance forbidding a man who had left the town from returning to business in it, merely to prevent one William Wedgwood, tailor, who had left his wife in Warwick and married another in Stratford-on-Avon, and had been expelled from Warwick by the Earl of Warwick's command—a striking instance of paternal government—from returning to it and gaining a livelihood there.⁴ It is remarkable that in these new 'books' the old ordinances relating to searching for and destroying or otherwise inflicting penalties on bad or dishonest work were dropped. The guilds then became almost nakedly protective, openly showing that their real object was to limit competition, to prevent a fair field and to ensure favour. Such tactics could only operate to still further depress trade already depressed. So, largely owing to these antiquated restrictions, modern trade and manufactures drifted from the ancient towns and found their homes in places not hampered by guild ordinances.

But to return to the school. After John Fisher's conversation with Leicester, the grant to him, described as 'Earl of Leicester, Baron Denbigh, knight of either order of S. George and S. Michael, Master of the Horse and Privy Councillor,' of 'le Burgers Hall sive le Guild Hall' and the chapel 'lately called S. James' chapel' above 'le Westgate,' was duly made by deed of 26 December, 14 Elizabeth, 1571.⁵ The hospital was established and its master given a salary of £50, or more than double that of the vicar. But it was not till nearly five years afterwards, when he was with his brother the Earl of Warwick at Kenilworth, that the Earl of Leicester performed his part of the bargain. Then on 8 April 1576 a grant in Latin was

¹ *Black Book*, p. 71.

² *Ibid.*, p. 139.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 17. Their meeting day was Mid-lent Sunday.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

drawn up by Fisher and was sealed by them.¹ 'Know ye that we the said earls for the good zeal we bear to the commonwealth of the borough of Warwick, in the county of Warwick, and the education of the youth of the same borough in good letters and sound doctrine, and the better execution of the laws and statutes of this realm of England in the said borough, have delivered granted and confirmed . . . to the Bailiff and Burgesses All that building or chapel lately called or known by the name of the Chapel of S. Peter founded above a gate called the Eastgate (*vocatum le Estgate*) with a piece of waste land between the chapel and the wall a tenement in the occupation of Margaret Haley widow.' The grant also included 'the Stuards place now called the Shire hall and the garden adjoining' and 'the Cross Tavern.' This Steward's Place was the place where the steward of the earl held his courts, and where the king's justices held their assizes and the county justices their sessions. The land adjoining it was sold by the corporation in 1698.² The building is now represented by the present Shire Hall in Northgate Street, formerly sometimes called Sheep Street, which stands on the same site.

There is no evidence whether the school was ever actually transferred to St. Peter's Church. On 12 August 1572 the Queen came in state with Leicester, when the recorder greeted her with a lengthy oration on the history of the town and the earl's family, which much pleased her, and she called him to her 'and offered him her hand to kysse. Withall smyling said, "Come hither, little Recorder. It was told me that you wold be afraid to look upon me, or to speake so boldly, but you were not so afraid of me as I was of you. And I now thank you for putting me in mynde of my duty and that should be in me."' Then 'Maister Griffin the preacher,' that is the new master of Leicester's new hospital, presented her with an elaborate Latin acrostic, the uprights of which read 'Tu Elisabetha viro nubito mater eris,' and a copy of verses telling her that it was her duty to marry and have an heir.

¹ *Black Book*, p. 224.

² So Mr. Kemp informs me. He says that he was mistaken in a note in the *Black Book*, p. 225, in identifying the Shire Hall with the Borough Court House.

The schoolmaster at this time is not known, and it is rather strange that neither he nor the school is mentioned as taking part in the proceedings.

In 1580 for the first time we learn the name of any master of Warwick school. This is due to another record of the indefatigable Elizabethan historian, Mr. John Fisher, known as *The Book of John Fisher*,¹ the publication of which we also owe to the labours of Mr. T. Kemp. In this book Mr. Fisher has preserved the accounts of the second year in which he was bailiff, 1580-1. In this account a total income of £107, 11s. 8d. is shown, including £10, 15s. 3d. from 'corporation lands,' which were no doubt the lands given by the gild, and £3, 13s. 0d., given by whom does not appear, 'to the mayntenance of the Bridge.' The expenditure, which did not, however, include anything for the bridge, was £69 5s. 5d., of which was paid:—

	£	s.	d.
'To Mr Humfrey Waryng for his whole yeres			
stipend as vikar of Saint Nicolas in Warwick, .	13	8	8
Item, more to him for teaching the free gramer			
skole the said yere,	10	0	0

So that already, in view of the substitution of married for celibate clerks, the increase of the pay of the schoolmaster, in the absence of the doubling of the endowment asked of the Earl of Leicester, was effected by the expedient, adopted with fatal results here as elsewhere, of combining ecclesiastical with scholastic functions, the office of vicar with that of schoolmaster.

Who Mr. Waring was, or when he was made master, we do not know. He was no doubt a relation, very likely a son, of the John Waring who was pensioned at the dissolution of the college, and again at the dissolution of the gild. No doubt he was a university man, but the meagre records of degrees at that time afford us no information as to him.

On 4 May 1582,² a licence of the Bishop of Worcester 'to

¹ *The Book of John Fisher*, Town Clerk and Deputy Recorder of Warwick, 1580-88, p. 74. Henry T. Cooke and Son, Publishers, High Street, Warwick.

² *Worcester Episc. Reg.*, 1571-1625, p. 42. As several preceding entries belong to 1583, it is probable that this does also, and that 1582 is a slip of the pen of the scribe.

teach youth at Warwick' was issued to Robert Sterne. He was probably the usher, but he may have been the petty schoolmaster, or the grammar schoolmaster himself. But we are left guessing.

Nor is it easy to explain the entry, among a list of communicants at Easter 1586¹ as living at 'the Skolehouse,' 'Clement Ison and Anne his wief, Richard Belt and Margaret his wief, and John Maier.' Was the schoolhouse let, and if not, was Clement Ison the schoolmaster? It appears probable, however, that this was the old schoolhouse on the walls, and was let as a cottage.

On 12 December 1593 the bailiff and burgesses, 'after the death of Humphrey Waringe, clarke,' vicar of St. Nicholas, presented 'one Hercules Marrell' to the vicarage. The new schoolmaster seems to have taken the lower if less onerous place of 'assistant minister,' for on 4 December 1594² Mr. Thomas Hall, 'scholemaster, did move to Mr. Bailive and the rest of the burgesses twoo requests, being both reasonable and therefore doubted not of the grant.' The first was that he 'might be disburdened and eased of the charge and trouble of reading comon praier in the churche.' He asked this, not because of the trouble to himself, but because 'hee was in dutie bond to attend another office the fruicion whereof was by this meanes in some measure hindered, yet not soe much neglected as the mallice of some harts did conceive, or the spight of some loose touns reporte, the which that he might better sustane hee wholly would imploie himself whereunto hee was called.' It is evident that, as always, the combination of schoolmaster and parson was bad for the interests of the school, and that people had not scrupled to complain that the school was sacrificed to the master's ecclesiastical duties. Meanwhile rival schoolmasters had apparently undertaken the work which the curate neglected. For Hall's second petition, 'made not for his own gain (although some would perhaps censure him covetous, of the which vice he frelie cleared himself) but for the avoydance of some misconvenience which might ensue,' was that the corporation would put down rival

¹ *Book of John Fisher*, p. 193.

² *Ibid.*, p. 400, f. 266.

schoolmasters. 'That the number of teachers and Schole-maisters might bee within this borough abated; the toleration of whom impugned [the] common law of the realme, imposed penaltie uppon the corporation, insured diversitie of opinion, and prejudiced the good education of yonge schollers.'

The corporation's answer to the first point was that Hall must continue in his place 'untill such time as they were convenientlie furnished with some other sufficient,' and to this he consented. To the second request, 'necessarie reformation, with equall and indyfferent favor, was promised.' It would be interesting to know how, in the absence of the thunders of the church, the suppression of the rival schools was effected. Perhaps by the eviction of the rival schoolmaster from his tenancy.

Mr. Hall was not a person to hesitate to express his views, for in 1618,¹ when he had become vicar of St. Mary's, 'Mr. Bayliffe and two of his company' were deputed to 'talke with Mr. Hall about his invective sermons and reproachfull and scandalous speeches against the Bayliffe and Burgesses, and if uppon their motion he will not reconcyle himselfe and be peaceable, then articles to be exhibited against him to the highe commissioners.' Some years later he appears in the corporation books again. In 1631 the corporation was engaged in controversy with Mr. Hall about his salary as vicar of St. Mary's, the corporation complaining that they had already augmented it from £20, 'lymitted by Charter,' to £50, and had offered the 'Easter book' or Easter offerings or £10 instead, in addition, which Mr. Hall rejected, threatening a suit at law, 'sparing not disgracefully to reproach us.' So they passed 'an Acte of Common Counsell' that if he began a suit they would revert to the charter payment of £20.

But on 7 October, taking into consideration the request made by Mr. Thomas Hall 'for some increase of his mayntenance,' and 'weighinge well his ministeriall function in the visitacion and comfortinge of sicke persons, his hospitallity and charitye in relieving the poore, and that the said Mr.

¹ Corporation Minute-Book, 1610 to 1662, 6 Nov. 1618. As on the burial of his wife with an infant son on Christmas Day 1612, he is described as 'pastor hujus ecclesiæ,' he must have been vicar some years.

Hall is now aged and hath more cause of expence than heretofore,' they offered him the 'Easter booke,' *i.e.* the Easter offerings, so called, which had long become an obligatory payment, or £10 in money.

The minute-book, however, leaves Mr. Hall still in controversy, this time—15 February 1632-3—with his assistant or lecturer, Mr. Clarke, when it was agreed that the latter should not go on with his lectures at St. Nicholas's 'untill these differences shall be by the authority of the ecclesiastical court, or judges of the lawe, or otherwise, appeased.' His burial is recorded in St. Mary's Register on 22 April 1639.

Mr. Hall was succeeded in the schoolmastership—but at what date exactly we do not know—by the most distinguished person who ever held that office. This was John Owen, the epigrammatist, whose works have been published and republished, and translated not once but several times into the four great languages of Europe—English, French, German, and Spanish. It is not too much to say that his epigrams are superior to those of any since Martial in point and wit—if not to those of Martial himself. Unfortunately for this degenerate age, the originals are in Latin, and though as late as 1824 an edition of them was published at Leipzig, John Owen is no longer a prophet in his own country. Curiously enough, this fate was half anticipated by one of the writers who heralded Owen's second volume of epigrams, dedicated to the unfortunate Lady 'Arbella' Stuart.

'Multi scripserunt epigrammata nuper et olim
Quorum vix equidem nomina nota mihi:
Et tua (ne dubites) vivent epigrammata, vivent,
Dum sacer in precio sermo Latinus erit.'

'Both past and present epigrams are many,
Though writers' names I scarce remember any;
Your epigrams shall live; shall live, I say,
While Latin speech shall hold its sacred sway.'

Latin speech no longer holds its sway, and Owen's epigrams are forgotten.

John Owen was a Welshman, born at Bettws Garmon, a

village now known to fame as a station on the little mountain railway from Carnarvon to Snowdon. Like many other of his countrymen under the Tudors, he was given a scholarship at Winchester College, and was last but one on the roll of 1577, being then 13 years old, so that he was born about 1564. His first two years were spent under the headmastership of John Bilson, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, a most sturdy Protestant. His last two years were spent under a compatriot of his own, Hugh Lloyd, who came from Carnarvon, and had been under the famous Christopher Johnson, himself a master of Latin epigram. Among his contemporaries was John Hoskins, also half a Welshman, from Herefordshire, who distinguished himself by being expelled from Oxford for his performances as a jester in the capacity of *Terræ filius* at Commemoration, took to schoolmastering at Ilchester, and having married a rich wife became an M.P.; was sent to the Tower by James I. for lampooning his Scotch favourites, but ended as a Judge and Member of the Council of Wales. His chief title to fame is his reputed authorship of the lines on the far-famed 'Trusty Servant' in the kitchen of Winchester College.

It was to Bilson's teaching that Owen imputed his epigrammatic skill (i. 25)—

'Tu mihi preceptor quondam, Bilsone, fuisti,
Debeo preceptis, scribo quod ista, tuis.'

'Bilson, instructor of my youth, to you
Whate'er these epigrams are worth is due.'

He always remained a patriotic Wykehamist. One of his epigrams (i. 27) is in praise of 'Collegium Wintoniense,' which he does not hesitate to call—as without dispute it then was—the first school in Europe—

'Prima scholas Europæ inter Wintonica, cujus
Pars ego, quæ mea laus maxima, parva fui.
Hunc tibi primatum nec Zoilus ipse negabit,
Si tibi Wickamum noverit ipse patrem.'

‘ Chief school of Europe, Winton, in whose fame
 My proudest boast is a slight share to claim,
 E’en Zoilus will admit thy primacy
 If he but know thee Wykeham’s child to be.’

The education at Winchester was largely devoted to the production of Latin epigrams, under the name of *Vulgus*, a corruption of ‘*Vulgars*’ or exercises on common words, which were still done three times a week during the first three years of the present writer’s career at Winchester, from 1863-9. An epigram of Grocyn, the first ‘*Grecian*’ in England, said to have been written by him while still at Winchester, has had the honour of being incorporated in Latin anthologies as being by Petronius Arbiter himself, and a story is told of how Archdeacon Philpotts, who was burnt for heresy under Mary, had competed in Latin verse at school with, and beat, Archdeacon Harpsfield who (partly therefore) burnt him. Christopher Johnson’s ‘*distichs*’ or two-lined epigrams on the headmasters who had preceded him were published while Owen was at the school. So our Winchester scholar was as much at home in Latin epigrams as a duck in water.

One at least of Owen’s most famous epigrams (i. 39) was written while he was still at school. In November 1580, Queen Elizabeth paid a state visit to Sir Francis Drake in his ship at Deptford, with which he had just returned from his voyage round the world. ‘*The Annals of Elizabeth written in Latin*, by the learned Mr. William Camden,’ record how the ship ‘was drawn up into a little creek near Deptford on the Thames (where its carkasse is yet to be seen)’—this was in 1685, the date of the third edition of Gent’s translation—‘and it being consecrated for a memorial with a great ceremony in praise of Drake, these verses among others were set up the same day upon the mainmast, written by the schollers of Winchester schoole.’ He then quotes a number of them, headed by those which Owen, by including them in his published epigrams, claimed as his own, and indeed they bear the stamp of his genius.

‘ Plus ultra Herculeis inscribas, Drace, columnis
 Et magno dicas Hercule major ero.

Drace, perarrati novit quem terminus orbis
 Quemque semel mundi vidit uterque polus ;
 Si taceant homines, facient te sidera notum ;
 Atque polus de te discet uterque loqui.'

These were rendered by a contemporary translator—

'On Hercules' pillars, Drake, thou maist
Plus ultra write full well :
 And say I will in greatness that
 Great Hercules excel.

Sir Drake, whom well the world's end knows
 Which thou dost compass round,
 And whom both Poles of Heav'n once saw
 Which North and South doe bound,
 The starres above will make thee knowne
 If men here silent were ;
 The Sun himself could not forget
 His fellow-traveller.'

It is not often that schoolboy efforts are thus recorded in a great history, and Camden himself apologises for 'these things which may seem puerile and vain, and not befitting the dignity of history,' but his testimony to the superiority of Owen's and the other Winchester boys' verses is the more gracious, as he was headmaster of its then great rival, Westminster.

They are perhaps not less striking in that Owen at the time was only sixteen years old, and did not leave school for two years afterwards. Owen's epigrammatic facility no doubt helped him to his election to New College, low down as he had been on the Winchester roll at entrance. He was admitted a scholar or probationer-fellow in 1582, and a full fellow, as usual, two years later. At New College, fellowships were then divided, according to William of Wykeham's statutes, among 'artists' and 'jurists,' 'medici' and 'astronomi,' or the students of 'arts' or the classics, of 'civil and common law,' 'medicine' and 'astronomy' respectively. There was no choice as to which line any particular person entered, he had to take his chance as a vacancy occurred. Apparently, for a

poor man, unable to support himself until he could make a fortune in practice in the ecclesiastical courts, which had wofully shrunk in importance since the Reformation, it was a misfortune to become a 'jurist,' and there are frequent entries in the college records of fellows resigning because they had become 'civilistae' or civilians, and their friends could no longer support them. So it was mainly from the 'jurists' that the second masters of Winchester itself, and the schoolmasters generally, were recruited—a very unexpected result of Wykeham's statutes. Thus Hugh Barton, who as Founder's kin headed the roll in Owen's year, was a 'civilista,' and became headmaster of what is now known as the Prebendal School, Chichester, to which a canonry or prebend in the Cathedral was and is annexed, and Richard Butcher, another scholar of the year, also a jurist, became headmaster of Thame, a school of which New College was patron. Owen himself became a B.C.L. in 1590, and next year is said to have been a schoolmaster at Trilleck, in Monmouthshire.

It seems impossible to ascertain exactly when he became headmaster of the King's School, Warwick. But it was about 1595, most likely when Thomas Hall became vicar. It is not improbable that Warwick owed Owen to the recommendation of Bishop Bilson, Owen's headmaster, who was then Bishop of Worcester. Not a shred of evidence is forthcoming as to the internal state of the school during Owen's mastership. But the fame of his own Latin verse must have shed a reflected light on the school, and have brought pupils to it.

He published the first instalment of his epigrams in 1606, in three books, dedicated to the Lady Mary, wife of Sir Henry Neville, seventh Lord Abergavenny. They met with such instant success that they went through two editions within a month. A fourth book of epigrams dedicated to Lady 'Arbella,' the unfortunate Arabella Stuart, appeared in 1607. One of the earliest and cleverest epigrams, the third in order, was to his friend John Hoskins, and produced an equally clever answer—

'Hic liber est mundus ; homines sunt, Hoskine, versus ;
Invenies paucos hic, ut in orbe, bonos.'

‘Hoskins, deem this the world, my verses men, and you
Will find, as in the world, the good are very few.’

To which Hoskins answered in the third edition—

‘Hic liber est mundus ; movet, et sine fine movetur ;
Ipse licet taceas, Bibliopola probat.
Nam tua perpetuum exercent epigrammata prelum
Pene fatigatis ter repetita typis.’

‘Thy book the world ? Yes, for it always moves,
As every bookseller and bookstall proves.
Your epigrams exhaust the eternal press,
Its types worn out with thrice-repeated stress.’

It is difficult, amidst all the wealth of wit contained in Owen’s epigrams, to select specimens. The best known one is that which, like Hippocrides’ after-dinner dance, is said to have laughed away a fortune, which he expected from an uncle of Romanist proclivities, and to have procured the book the honour of a place on the Roman *Index Expurgatorius*—

‘An Petrus fuerit Romae, sub iudice lis est ;
Simonem Romae nemo fuisse negat.’

‘If Peter was at Rome, at issue lies,
That Simon was at Rome, no one denies.’

Considering that medieval literature rings with the same sentiment of ‘venalia Romae omnia,’ that everything at Rome is to be had for money, and money only, this epigram hardly seems an adequate cause for the loss of an inheritance.

One of the neatest may be entitled

THE TRUE PATRIOT.

‘Pro patria sit dulce mori, licet atque decorum ;
Vivere pro patria dulcius esse puto.’

‘Though sweet it may be for one’s country to die,
To live for one’s country is sweeter, say I.’

This epigram is worthy of its subject?—

ON SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, POET AND HERO (ii. 29).

‘Qui scribenda facit, scribitve legenda, beatus
Ille ; beatior es tu quod utrumque facis.
Digna legi scribis, facis et dignissima scribi,
Scripta probant doctum te, tua facta probum.’

‘Happy the hero and the poet are,
Thou, both in one, than both art happier far :
Thy songs men read, and songs thy deeds befit,
Thy deeds portray thy work, thy songs thy wit.’

The next might have been written by one who had sailed under Drake against the Spanish Armada, or by one of the Blue Water School to-day—

BRITAIN’S STRENGTH (ii. 40).

‘Anglorum portæ sunt portus, mœnia classes,
Castra æquor, valli corpora, corda duces.’
‘Harbours are England’s gates, her ships her walls ;
Her ramparts men, their hearts her generals.’

In a lighter vein are these—

TO AN EMPTY-HEADED ACQUAINTANCE (i. 23).

‘Esse in natura vacuum cur, Marce, negasti ?
Cum tamen ingenii tam sit inane caput.’
‘That Mark denies that Nature knows a vacuum
Is strange, when all can mark his empty cerebrum.’

THE BALD HEAD (i. 106).

‘Calve, meos nunquam potui numerare capillos ;
Nec tu (nam nulli sunt) numerare tuos.’
‘To count my hairs were task without an end,
To count your hairs, you can’t begin, bald friend.’

It is not clear where Owen taught school. It appears that it was not in St. Peter’s chapel, which the Earl of Leicester

had given for the purpose. For an entry in the Corporation Minute-Book, 21 November 1615, 'agreed that Wm. Carter be put out of his possession of St. Peter's Chappell, and that the same be let to Richard Goodwick att will from yeare to yeare at 20s. a yere and keeping repayre,' seems to show that the chapel was not the school. It was therefore either in the old schoolhouse, St. John's Church, or still in the Gild Hall.

We only know of two of the pupils of this famous master. The first is Sir Thomas Puckering. He was son of Sir John Puckering, Keeper of the Great Seal in 1592, who had purchased and settled down in the Priory. The fact is commemorated in an epigram of the master written to the pupil about 1611, and appears in Owen's second volume (ii. 9), which was dedicated to Prince Henry, the elder brother of Charles I., of whose court Puckering was a member, and thereby became one of the first batch of baronets at their original creation. He was M.P. for Tamworth, and in 1630 founded a Hospital at Warwick for eight poor women as a set off to Leicester's male hospital.

'Care tuum, Thoma, si fas tam prisca referre,
 Ingenium colui nobile primus ego.
 Doctor ego, Puckringe, fui tuus, optime, primus ;
 Non sum quod fueram, sum tamen usque tuus.'

'Dear Thomas, if t' invoke old times be fit ;
 I cultivated first thy noble wit.
 I thy first teacher was, great pupil mine,
 I am not what I was, but still am thine.'

Another pupil of John Owen's who attained to fame was John Ley, born in Warwick in 1583, and elected from the school in 1601 to a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford. Canon and Sub-Dean of Chester Cathedral, he was, like many of the cleverer clergy, a Puritan. He became a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and had so far profited by Owen's ministrations that he was examiner in Latin to that body. In 1645 he was President of Sion College, the college of London city clergy, and became rector of Stilwell. Fortunately for himself he had retired, owing to illness, before the Restoration, and died in 1662.

Owen's career at Warwick was not, perhaps, without its storms, though we know little of them. On 5 June 1613 a bill was filed in Chancery by Thomas Hunt and others, no doubt including the schoolmaster, against Thomas Shakespeare, then bailiff, and the burgesses, alleging breaches of trust in respect of Henry VIII.'s grant and the gifts of Oken, Wheler, and Griffin. The information, the answer and the depositions taken are not to be found among the corporation records nor yet among the Chancery records, in which they are recited to be; very few Chancery records of this date exist, while those which do exist are in a state of wild confusion. So we know nothing of the details, except those stated in the judgment.

On 10 November 1614 the cause came on for hearing, 'but the particulars of the said misemployments then seeming to be so many as this Court had then no time to consider of the several particulars thereof,' a commission was issued to Sir John Ferrers and Sir Clement Fisher, knights, and others to hear and determine the matters as well concerning the commons as other misemployments, or to make a certificate thereon. The commissioners, after two or three days' hearing, on 11 January 1614-15, certified that the Coten tithes had been underlet to the bailiffs and burgesses at £40 a year, and they were accordingly made to pay £60 for arrears of the last three years; while four members of the corporation individually were found to hold leases of the charity property at an undervalue, and were made to pay some but by no means full compensation. The commissioners also ordered £16 a year to be given to the poor, and £100 to be received for 'setting awork the pore' from the bailiffs and burgesses, as a sort of fine, including the £60 for under-rent of Coten tithes. Finally it was agreed that to meet the costs of the complainants, Thomas Hunt, Francis Collings, Richard Milward, and John King, they should have the Coten tithes for £50 a year for seven years. When the certificate had been made, the bailiffs and burgesses, who had agreed to it, put in exceptions. So it was not till 30 October 1615, 2¼ years after the suit was instituted, that a decree was made by Lord Chancellor Ellesmere confirming the certificate, and directing

that the rents of the estates should be applied by the bailiffs and burgesses according to the intention of the donors, 'wherein this Court doth wish them to have a regard of the now Incumbent Ministers, they being sufficient preachers lawfully authorized, especially to Dr. Hall, the present incumbent of S. Mary's Parish Church, being the principal Church and greatest parish there, the quondam schoolmaster, and also to the schoolmaster of the Free Grammar School and his successors, being sufficient painful and diligent in their places.' The reader will not need to be reminded that 'painful' refers not to the pains the master might inflict on his scholars, but to those he should take himself. The burgesses were also ordered to account yearly to the High Sheriff and the Custos Rotulorum of the county.

It appears from later Chancery proceedings that this decree resulted in a general rise of stipends, that of the schoolmaster being doubled, increased that is from £10 to £20. But the parson's meanwhile had been trebled, so that the vicar of St. Mary's received £60 instead of his original £20; while the stipend of the vicar of St. Nicholas's, which is not mentioned in Henry VIII.'s charter, having been established by an Ordinance of the Bishop of Worcester with the consent of the Dean and Chapter of Warwick in 1464, had been raised from £13, 6s. 8d. to £40. The usher, who is also not mentioned in the charter, got £8 a year.

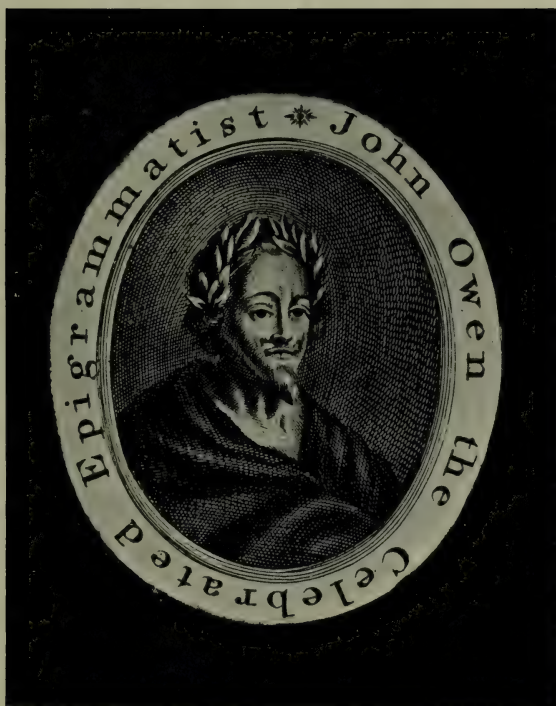
John Owen died in 1622 and received the honour of interment in St. Paul's Cathedral, where a brass, burnt in the Great Fire, was erected to him (it is said) by his uncle, the Lord Keeper Williams. Dugdale records the inscription, which was on a column next to the door of the consistory court, which, as was usual, occupied the last bay at the west end:—

'Parva tibi statua est, quia parva statura, supellex
 Parva, volat parvus magna per ora liber.
 Sed non parvus honos, non parva est gloria; quippe
 Ingenio haud quicquam est majus in orbe tuo.
 Parva domus texit, Templum sed grande; Poetæ
 Tum vero vitam, quum moriuntur agunt.'

The inscription is not worthy of Owen, who would not have

tolerated from a fifth-form boy the perpetration of 'parva statura' of the first line. It has been well Englished by an old Wykehamist of to-day, Mr. L. L. Shadwell:—

‘Little your statue, stature, and estate ;
Your little book is quoted by the great.
Not little is your name, nor rated low ;
Nought greater than your wit the world can show.
Small was your home, in this vast fane you lie ;
For poets' lives begin but when they die.’



JOHN OWEN, THE EPIGRAMMATIST.
HEADMASTER, C. 1595-1620

CHAPTER VIII

THE SCHOOL UNDER THE STEWARTS

WHO was Owen's successor in the mastership of Warwick does not seem to be ascertainable. On 9 January 1628 a minute-book of the corporation records the votes as to 'who shall be comended to the Lord Keeper for the schoolmaster of the Free Schoole.' The whole of the eleven principal burgesses present voted solid for 'Mr. Walker,' who was also supported by three assistant burgesses, while two of the latter voted for a Mr. Ward. A letter to the Lord Keeper was thereupon written 'to comend Mr. Walker when the place shalbe voyde.' Who held the place at the time is not stated, nor does it appear why the place was likely to be void, nor is it known if Mr. Walker ever held it.

The next master known to history was Mr. Thomas Dugard. When King Charles I. came to Warwick 'in progress,' 19 August 1636,¹ and was presented with a silver gilt cup, which cost £21 odd, he was 'recevid by the Bailive, Principale Burgesses and Assistants, and oracion made by Mr. Dugard Scholemaster of the King's Gramer Schole in Warwick.'

The Thomas Dugard of Bromsgrove, who matriculated at Balliol in 1606, and became M.A. from Christ Church in 1609,² may have been his father.

The burgesses were again attacked in Chancery, this time by the Attorney-General, by information filed 20 February 1632-3. There were two complaints: one, with which we are not concerned, relating to the title of the burgesses, as owners of the rectory of Chaddeley Corbet, to appoint to the livings of Rushock and Stone, which were in the parish; the other, that the burgesses had misapplied the rents of Henry VIII's

¹ Corporation Minute-Book, 1610-1662.

² Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

grant. The prosecution, however, conferred with the corporation, and the matter was referred, 20 June 1636, three years after the suit was begun, by the Court requesting 'the justices of assizes that rode that circuit' to consider the letters patent and the former decree, and make a certificate to give effect to them.

This reference to the judges to interpret trusts had a disastrous effect on the future history of the foundation. Instead of regarding the trusts, they, by their certificate, 8 July 1636, made a compromise order by consent. They increased the stipends all round of the vicars of St. Mary's, St. Nicholas's, and Budbrook, and the assistant curate of St. Mary's, and the schoolmaster, giving each an addition of £10 a year to their then respective stipends. This, in the case of the schoolmaster, meant a rise from £20 to £30 a year, while the usher was increased by only £2—from £8 to £10 a year. But while all the other increases were unconditional, in the case of the schoolmaster's the rise was conditional. 'And so as such Master and Usher teach all the children born and brought up in Warwick from the Accidence to the Grammar, and so forward, without taking anything for the same, after they are fit to be taught the accidence.'

The limitation in the freedom of the school to children born in Warwick was not in accordance with the foundation, which made the school free for all. The distinction drawn between townsfolk and outsiders was an unfortunate one, as giving occasion for the notion that the main object of the foundation was not the advancement of what we call secondary education in general, but primarily and peculiarly the giving to Warwick townsfolk a free education, the kind being of comparatively little importance compared with the right of the townspeople to have it without payment. The clause, however, which limited the freedom to those who were fit for the accidence, at all events prevented the school from being degraded, as so many grammar schools in the country were degraded, into merely elementary schools. It was a repetition of the medieval decision that the school was a school for boys who already knew the elements of grammar, not a school to teach the elements.

More disastrous was the finding that 'the premises were granted to the proper use of the said corporation,' and the direction that, after the fixed payments prescribed, 'the surplus of the rents and profits . . . shall be disposed and employed for and towards the uses following, that is to say, (i) the repairs of the Church and Chancel of S. Mary's.' This, as far as the chancel was concerned, was quite right, that being one of the original objects. So also was (ii) 'the repair of the Great Bridge then leading over the river Avon,' as it was one of the objects of the property of £10 a year added by the gild to the king's grant. But a third and totally new trust was introduced, 'the binding of poor children born or bred in the town to be apprentices, and the relief of the poor aged people of the said town besides.' Finally, the residue was declared to be 'for such other good religious and charitable uses tending to the general good of the said town and the care of the inhabitants thereof, as the Bailiffs and Burgesses for the time being shall think meet and convenient.'

The judges calmly admitted that this was not declaring trusts, but making them. 'Albeit this may seem to dispense with the former decree of this Court,' yet 'we conceive it will be a strengthening thereof and doth order the residue . . . in a more certain way . . . and is like to produce a future quiet and peace and to prevent all occasions of suits hereafter.' The certificate was confirmed by the Lord Keeper's decree, 17 July 1636. It did not prevent future suits; but it did prevent a due proportion of the continuous increment of the endowment from reaching the school, and, by setting up a dole charity, which probably never yet did anything but harm to any one, so far from benefiting anybody, imposed a serious hindrance on the progress and prosperity of the town, while the application of the residue in aid of rates to public purposes of the town was a complete departure from the original objects of the trust.

That the school kept up to its old standard under Dugard may be gathered from the corporation, on 24 February 1641-2, contributing 'out of Mr. Oken's charitable monies,' £3 to 'the widow Shin towards the placinge of her sonne a porre scolar at Oxford, there beinge great hopes of his provinge to be a

good scollar, being well entred in lerninge and beinge conceived of good naturall parts for that purpose.'

One pupil of Dugard's, John Murcot, is known to fame as an eminent Independent preacher. Son of a father of the same name, he was born at Warwick in 1625, and entered Warwick School. From Warwick School he went to Merton College, Oxford. When Oxford became Charles I.'s capital, Murcot, to escape bearing arms as a Royalist, sought refuge in the vicarage of Budworth, in Cheshire, then held by John Ley, the old Warwickian above mentioned. After Oxford surrendered to the Parliament, Murcot returned and took his degree. He received orders on the Presbyterian model, and succeeded Ley as vicar of Budworth, in Cheshire. He was invited to Dublin as one of the preachers-in-ordinary to the Lord-Deputy Fleetwood, and attained great fame. Dying there at the early age of thirty, he was buried with great pomp in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, and received the honour of a biography at the hands of Dr. Samuel Winter (a Warwickshire man, but of Coventry School), Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

The school seems to have gone on quietly during the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate. Most writers of school histories express surprise when they find this to be the case. Why, it is hard to guess. Any idea that the Puritans or Parliamentarians were opposed to learning, or desired to put down schools, can only be founded on mere ignorance. It was they, not the Royalists, who were the learned and literary party. What names are to be found among the Cavaliers to set against Prynne and Selden and Milton? Outside Oxford the bulk of the earnest clergy were Puritans, the cream of the country gentlemen everywhere were Parliamentarians. They did not wage war against schools. On the contrary, they increased the endowments of a great many. Even when, as at Westminster and at York, they abolished Deans and Chapters, special provision was made for the schools which were supported, or supposed to be supported, out of their revenues or were under their governance. At Warwick the school went on the even tenor of its way as a matter of course.

Dugard himself was in all probability a Puritan, or at least a Parliamentary, as, under the influence of Robert Greville, second Lord Brooke, the castle and town of Warwick and most of the county were. The fact that Dugard retained his office throughout the Civil War, and retired to Barford Rectory in 1648, where he stayed until the Restoration and beyond, is evidence that he, at all events, was not in active opposition to Parliament, and was not 'a malignant.'

His only known published work is *Death and the Grave*, a sermon on the death of Lady Alice Lucie, or, as we should say, Alice, Lady Lucy, one of the Lucys of Charlcote, in 1649. In *Worthies of Warwickshire*, a book on the Nature of the Divine Law is attributed to him, but this was really the work of his son, having been published in 1687, four years after the death of Dugard the headmaster. His monument may still be seen in Barford Church on the north wall of the chancel, with two disengaged columns with Corinthian capitals supporting an entablature, in the divided pediment of which is a skull. A slate slab records in Latin that 'Beneath lies Thomas Dugard, M.A., of whom it is doubtful whether his knowledge of letters was more polished or his life more upright, but he assuredly deserved reverence for both. After being rector of this church for 35 years with the greatest zeal, satiated with life and long ripe for heaven, he put off mortality 7 October 1683, in the 76th year of his age. Whose memory is blest.'

Dugard probably resigned the headmastership on being made rector of Barford; but this cannot, in the dearth of documents, be ascertained with exactitude. There is evidence that a successor was there at all events as early as 1653, in the Admission Register of St. John's College, Cambridge, which records that Eliezer, son of Gilbert Stockton, gentleman, of Kinscote, Leicestershire, admitted sizar 11 March 1657-8, had been at school at Warwick under Mr. Glover for five years.

This Mr. Glover seems to have been Thomas, son of John Glover of Warwick, who is described as 'plebeian' when matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1642. Plebeian means that he was not the son of a knight or esquire, or in other words, of a country gentleman. He was probably the

same person who was rector of Northfield, Worcestershire, in 1661, and of St. Nicholas, Warwick, in 1662. Besides the sizar of St. John's already mentioned, we may credit him with Samuel Dugard, the son of his predecessor, whose name, with that of a great many other obscure theologians, for no apparent reason, burdens the pages of the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

At St. Nicholas's, Samuel Jemmatt was instituted vicar on 8 February 1671-2,¹ on Glover's death. Whether Glover retained the vicarage with the mastership, there is no evidence to show, but probably he did.

The next headmaster who comes into view, comes in a not very creditable way. On 22 February 1672-3, it was 'ordered' by the town council 'that the £10 due to the Usher of the Free Schoole be noe more paid to Mr. Martin, Head Schoolemaster, he having noe Usher, nor the 40s. formerly given to the Usher by Mr. Oken, untill further order.' From the absence of an usher it would appear that the school was not very flourishing at this epoch. Mr. Martin seems to be the William Martin of Warwick who matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1664,² but of whom nothing else is known. On 20 September 1687, the Register of St. Mary's, Warwick, records the burial of Mr. William Martin, schoolmaster. He must have resigned shortly before, since his successor was appointed on 20 August 1687.

The next master known was Mr. William Eades. He was no doubt related to the Roger Eades who was mayor in 1645-1657, and to the Richard Eades who, on 6 May 1631, was presented by the town to the vicarage of Budbrook, and his father John Eades lived at Warwick. William Eades was appointed vicar by letters patent of King James II., on 20 February, and instituted on 19 May 1687,³ and was appointed schoolmaster by similar letters patent on 13 August following.

Eades's appointment seems to have been made for purely partisan and political purposes, as he was either a Roman in

¹ Worcester *Epis. Reg.*, 1660-1714, f. 196.

² Foster's *Alumni Oxon.*

³ Worcester *Epis. Reg.*, f. 44 b.

disguise, or at least a Romaniser. But, as usual, James II. and his chancellor Jeffreys seem to have been singularly ill advised in the choice of their instruments, though this may probably have been because no decent instruments for their purposes were forthcoming.

In the Chancery suit, which eventually ensued, Humphrey Shaksheafe, mason, swore that 'in or about the beginning of September 1687, being imployed aboute the building of a popish chappell' in Warwick, Eades came and went up the scaffold, and being asked to lay a stone he did so, 'being a coin (*i.e.* corner) stone over the doore place of the said chappell,' and gave the mason sixpence, 'and desired to have the first letter of his name putt upon that stone,' which was done. Other witnesses said that 'when the pretended Bishop Gifford' came to consecrate the chapel, he saw Eades there in company with a priest at this consecration, that the 'popish bishop' came in his coach to Eades's house and was entertained by him, and that Eades tried to get the bells of St. Mary's rung to celebrate the consecration. Eades produced counter evidence that he had not laid the stone, and an *alibi* as to the consecration, and explained that when Bishop Gifford's coach passed his house he happened to be at the door to speak to a neighbour. The rebutting evidence was not very convincing, especially as William Tarver, ex-mayor, swore that Eades had admitted to him that he had laid the stone, and had his name engraved in capital letters on it.

In view of the dates, it seems extremely probable that James II. was trying at Warwick the game that he played at Magdalen College, Oxford. The corporation clearly suspected some political design, and went into open opposition to Eades.

On 16 September 1687¹ it was 'ordered and agreed that Mr. William Edes vicar of S. Maryes should be paid by the present Mayor the stipent or sallary given by the charter and noe otherwise, and likewise for the free scoole the same stipent allowed given by charter when it become due.' On 15 October he demanded from the corporation £51, 15s. 6d., being at the rate of £100 a year salary, with 'the Easter Book,'

¹ Corporation Minute-Book, 1664-1690.

£7, 10s., and other payments, and then they 'rendered him his stipend paid by our serjents according to our charter.' In reply, Eades demanded £100 a year from the date of his predecessor's (Mr. Preston's) death; 'item the Easter book and the full pay since Midsomer, for I have had no curate by my appointment, neither shall any preach in my pulpitt that you shall appoint. Pick what sense your malice will permit you out of this, and I doe expect to be paid it forthwith.' The mayor subsequently told a Mr. Brewitt, whose aid the corporation invoked, how he had been threatened by Eades's brother, 'a wild debauched young man, and lately listed into one of the troopes of Major-General Warden's regiment now quartered at Warwick. . . . He broke out into a violent passion against me as mayor, repeating the God-damming himself many times over, if he did not kill me whenever he saw me.' On Friday 'I did complayne to his officer, who hath confined him. I wish his brother the vicar be not an incourager of him in it, for he brought him to my house with his sword by his side twice the day before he went to London.' Failing the temporal, the vicar resorted to the spiritual, sword. When he administered the sacrament, 'he was so out of charity with the corporation that he left them out of the prayers.' Mr. Brewitt communicated the contents of the mayor's letter to Eades, who, on 3 November, wrote a furious answer from London. Among other amenities he wrote: 'Doe not mistake yourself, for altho' you were pleased to call me boy and what not, yet you will find me more in the dealings you have with me.' He says he would never have quarrelled with them 'if Mr. Prescottt had kept his tongue within his teeth, and not told my Lord Chancellor I could not read Latin. He is better satisfy'd concerning me, and it is probable your designs may prove to my advantage,' which was not unlikely, seeing that the Lord Chancellor was the redoubtable Jeffreys.

Eades's father, the corporation wrote to Mr. Brewitt, 'who hath no more breeding than he hath given his son, did report in publick that his son had gotten the better of the corporation, and that in a few days they would have a messenger to fetch them up to London.'

On 18 December the corporation took a somewhat mean

revenge by ordering that 'whereas the lease of the house wherein Mr. John Edes, the vicar's father, now liveth is near expiring,' they would grant a new lease to Mr. John Savage. On 24 May 1688 the then mayor was ordered to be allowed and reimbursed out of the corporation revenues 'the moneys he shall expend in and about the Corporation Rights as well against Mr. William Eeds, the present viccar of Saint Maryes, as alsoe in any other cause relating to the rights of the said Corporacion.' The last words refer to James II.'s attack on corporations.

The Warwick corporation, with many others, was dissolved 'by his Order of Counsell' in 1688. So Eades for the time remained triumphant. But the time was not long. Before the end of the year the truculent Lord Chancellor was in prison and his overbearing master a throneless fugitive. No-where can the 'Glorious Revolution' have been received with more enthusiasm than in Warwick. Its results soon appeared. On 1 June 1689 the revived corporation resolved 'to signify how unreasonable they think Mr. Eed's proposals and presente what they shall think fitt for the speedy removall of the said Mr. Eeds from the church of St. Mary and from the Freeschoole.'

On 20 August 1689 they resolved that 'Whereas by the neglect or ignorance of our present schoolemaster the free schoole here is gone much to decay, It is agreed that if Mr. John Hicks, or, upon his refusal, any other fitt person, to be approved of by the Corporacion, shall set up a Grammar Schoole within this Borrough, that then the said Corporacion will make such person as great a quarterly allowance as was now made annually to any Schoolemaster within the towne.' On 7 April 1690 two ex-mayors, Aaron Rogers and Edward Hunter, were ordered to attend the cause in London, which had been referred to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, and on 1 July put the corporation seal to their answer to Mr. Eades's bill. After dragging on for a year, eventually the case was compromised, the result being set out in a deed of 2 October 1690 made between the Corporation of the first part, Fulke, Lord Brooke, and others, aldermen, of the second part, and Eades of the third part. Eades having only had £50 in three years for the three 'places' of vicar, assistant, and

schoolmaster, the corporation undertook to pay him £250 by 23 April following, and to give him in future £65 a year as Vicar and Schoolmaster, and 40s. a year for repairs of the vicarage house, together with the 'Easter book' and all baptism, marriage, and burial fees. In return the corporation were to be allowed to appoint whom they liked as assistant, and if they let Eades be his own assistant were to pay him £50 a year more.

Eades seems to have thought that any one could be a parson, but that some learning, ability, and industry were required to be a schoolmaster. At all events the agreement provided that, though nominally remaining master, he should have nothing to do with the school. 'And also that he the said William Eedes shall and will from time to time during so long time as he shall continue Master of the said Free School peaceably and quietly permit and suffer such person and persons as the "Corporation or the said Trustees" shall nominate provide and appoint to be Usher or Ushers of the said Free School, and to have the sole teaching governing and instructing of all the children from time to time thither sent and to be sent, or thither resorting to be taught and instructed,' and also to take 'all the salaries pensions and profits belonging to the place of Master of the said Free School or of Usher or Ushers thereof or anywise arising by the said school.' Eades also undertook to surrender the mastership whenever called on to do so by the corporation or the trustees, and not to surrender it until called on.

After this abdication by Eades of the mastership, the school seems to have gone on quietly under a succession of masters appointed by the corporation. Thus the accounts for 1692-3 show £30 paid to the master and £10 paid to the usher 'of the free school.' But no names are given until the year 1697, when we find that Bernard Gilpin acted both as master and usher, receiving £40 a year in that double capacity, and £30 a year more as assistant-minister. This Gilpin, who had inherited the name of the famous 'Apostle of the North,' who as rector of Houghton founded the Grammar School there in 1560-74, was apparently the son of Thomas Gilpin of Tattenhall, in Staffordshire, who matriculated at Oxford 23

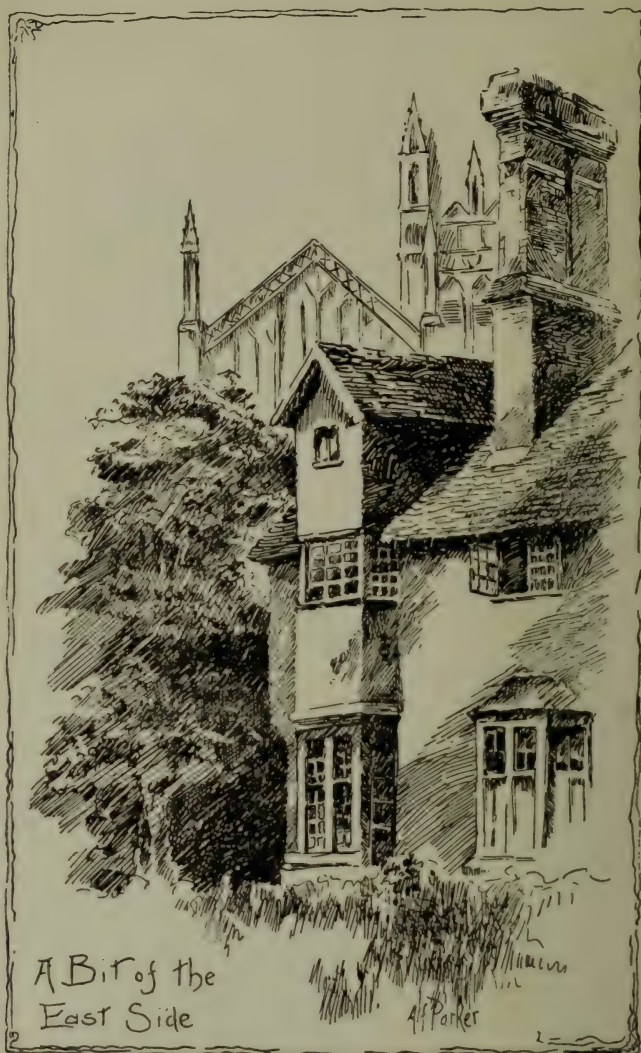
April 1686, and became B.A. in February 1690. Whether he may be identified with the person who was Vicar of Rushbury in 1692 is open to question, but he is almost certainly the person who became rector of Fringford, in Oxfordshire, in 1698, as that is the year in which he ceased to be master of Warwick School.

The only other school item in the accounts at the time is in 1693-4, when £3, 0s. 8d. was paid 'for mending the windows at the free school.' This item must represent a complete destruction of all the windows, probably at a 'barring-out' of the master on the Christmas holidays—last vestige of the Saturnalia—which was always calling out the wrathful but ineffectual prohibitions of scholastic legislators.

During Gilpin's time the Great Fire of Warwick occurred, which broke out on 5 September 1694 from a spark falling on one of the thatched roofs in High Street, and burned some 250 houses. Then owing to the burning contents of some of the houses having been carried into the nave of St. Mary's Church for safety, it destroyed the nave and badly scorched the choir. Amongst the rest, the old school in the Market Place, the old St. John's Church, perished. It was probably owing to this that the corporation now found a new home for the school most appropriately in the old college, the house of the vicars-choral. In whose hands this had been after it was sold by Henry VIII. to the Taverners, who clearly only bought it for a speculation, it does not seem possible to discover. In 1586 it was inhabited by Robert Sheldon,¹ who was bailiff in 1584-5. It was now bought by the corporation from Sir Thomas Wagstaffe of Tachbrook Mallory, in whose family it had been for a good many years. Among the title deeds handed over on the purchase was one of 3 October 1676, which recited an earlier deed of 9 March 1656-57 settling the College 'and one little house theretofore called by the name of the Schoole house situate at the nether end of the said churchyard'—a description which, if correct, shows that this little building, probably the old Song School, was not then at all events used as a school—in trust for John Wagstaffe and Alice his wife, the parents apparently of Sir Thomas Wagstaffe.

¹ *The Book of John Fisher*, p. 193.

The purchase-money was £300, but the seller had since the contract 'been prayed of his good will to abate £40 thereof.'



Of the rest £83 was found by subscriptions: Lord Brooke giving £40, Lord Willoughby de Brooke £5, 10s., William Almore, then owner of the Deanery, £20, Sir Henry Puckering,

owner of the Priory, £10, and Bernard Gilpin, the headmaster, £7, 10s. The College was conveyed to the corporation 25 March 1699, the old Song School being described in the conveyance as 'at the west end of Tink-a-tang lane on the wall between the college garden and the garden of Elizabeth Heath.' Some £45 was spent on putting the College in repair, including £6, 19s. 9d. for a furnace for the use of the schoolmaster 'and for mending the fire-hearth,' to which was added in 1700 a copper, while the tiling was repaired at the corporation expense 'at the request of those gents that paid parte of the money that purchased the said Schoole.' But this was not to be a 'president future.' The old school 'on the wall' was sold to Robert Heath on 17 December 1700 for £10, and apparently demolished. The College remained the home of the school for nearly 200 years. The first master to teach in it was Mr. John Curdworth, who, like his predecessor Gilpin, was also lecturer or assistant at St. Mary's.

CHAPTER IX

THE SCHOOL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ON 15 October 1701 'the offices of Master of the free schoole and lecturer of St. Mary's church being vacant by the departure of Mr. John Curdworth, and application for both is made unto us the Mayor & Aldermen & Trustees of the Corporation by Richard Lydiate, clerke, Master of Arts and fellow of New Collidge in Oxford, with whose learning and other qualifications we are fully satisfied,' they appointed him to both offices on 20 January 1701-2. Being a fellow of New College, which until 1854 was wholly confined, so far as members on the foundation were concerned, to boys from Winchester College, Lydiate had been as a matter of course a scholar of Winchester, where he was admitted at the age of 12 in 1685. He was indeed of Wykeham's own family, being admitted as founder's kin,¹ as his brother had been admitted in 1683, and as two scions of two earlier generations had been—Richard Lydiat in 1635, and Thomas Lydyate, who became famous as a mathematician, in 1584. At Winchester Richard Lydiate ran rapidly up the school, and went to New College in 1689.

He came to Warwick School in November 1701, being paid for 3½ quarters to Michaelmas 1702, £61, 5s. as lecturer, schoolmaster, and usher. The corporation appear to have thought him a treasure, as they made extensive repairs at the school on his admission.

On 20 January they ruled 'That the Schoole master bee compelled to teach noe schollers but such as were or shall be

¹ At least he is described as Con. Fun., i.e. consanguineus fundatoris, in 'Long Roll,' the school list, in 1685. But he is not so described in the Admission Register as printed by Mr. T. Kirby; and being eighth on the roll of admissions, it would not appear that he was originally admitted as founder's kin.

borne within the libertye of the said borough,' or one of whose parents had lived there for seven years; *i.e.* the school was to be free only to children born in Warwick. Whether the corporation had any right thus to restrict the chartered liberty of the school is highly questionable, but there was no question that it was a measure demanded by the inadequacy of the endowment and beneficial to the school.

On 24 February 1701-2 they offered 'if he will quitt all pretence to obtaine the next presentation of the church of Budbrooke now void by the death of Mr. Samuel Hawes,' they would direct Mr. William Eades 'to assign his right in the said school to the said Richard Lydeate,' and would send 'a letter of approbacion and desire to the Lord Keeper to appoint' him master, give him £10 'out of the publick revenue of the Corporation towards his charges in obtaining the said grant under seale,' and do all repairs to the 'house now called the school house in which he doth dwell,' he paying only the window tax and the taxes to the church and poor. The patent under the great seal was not actually obtained until 1707, when Eades died, and £12 was paid by the corporation 'towards obtaining' it. Lydiate seems to have ceased to be lecturer on Midsummer Day, 1706, as after that date he was paid as master and usher only. This was no doubt because he wished to give undivided attention to the school, which had become a flourishing boarding-school. For on 15 August 1709 the corporation undertook to repay him whatever he paid for 'preserving three seats at the front of the West Gallery in the church of S. Mary, and in making these seats more useful for the placing of himself and borders.' These galleries seem to have been at the west end of the nave, and must have represented accommodation for some 60 boys. The degeneracy of architecture is shown by an order on 7 February 1714 that 'the schoolhouse be repaired with artificiall mortar in imitation of stonework,' the operation costing for three sides of the College £16, 8s. 4d., while new tiling cost £25.

Most of Lydiate's pupils who went to the university went no doubt to Oxford, where no college unfortunately has recorded the schools from which undergraduates come. At

St. John's College, Cambridge, where the schools are mentioned, one boy from Warwick, William, son of John Radcliff, a minor canon of Westminster, admitted 20 June 1717, at the age of 19, is recorded as having come from Warwick School 'under Mr. Lydiatt.' He was no doubt a boarder, and had used the school as a finishing school, having only been there for $1\frac{1}{2}$ years.

The regard in which the school was held in Lydiate's time may perhaps be estimated by the great benefaction which it received in his time, and which in after years proved its salvation in face of the neglect of the Town Council and the senility of successive masters. This was the Exhibition Foundation of Fulke Weale, a woollen-draper by trade, whose name figures prominently in the Corporation Records.

By will 1 February 1729 he gave the whole residue of his personal estate to five trustees to be laid out in lands, the income of which was to go 'towards the maintenance and education of two young men at a time, natives of Warwick, and in default of such natives, then to one or two other boys in some of the Universities at Oxford for the space of 7 years; which young men should be such as should be bred up in the Free School at Warwick till they attained the age of 17 years, and as should be qualified and recommended fit to be sent to the University, and approved of as so qualified by the Fellows.' 'Universities' was of course a slip of the pen for Colleges. The gift shows that the school was in the habit of contributing undergraduates to the universities. A sum of £1000, paid over by Weale's executors in 1734, was spent in buying an estate at Hampton-Curlieu, or Hampton-on-the-Hill in Budbrooke, close to Warwick, containing in 1827 a little more than 108 acres. Another £1000 paid over in 1742 was laid out in another estate at Langley, containing 90 acres and a rood, and was conveyed to the trustees 16 April 1755. It is amazing to see the growth of the increment on those estates. In 1780 they were let at £60 and £40. In 1803 at £90 and £74, and in 1868 at £113 and £90; while other profits and accumulations had added a sum of nearly £1500 to the endowment. The Exhibitions went up in value from £35 before 1803 to £65 in 1803, in 1819 to £70, and then to £80.



THE CLOISTER AT THE OLD SCHOOL, FORMERLY THE COLLEGE OF
VICARS CHORAL.

On 23 June 1730 the corporation repaired the schoolroom 'as a matter of favour requested by the Rev. Mr. Lydiate, the present Schoolmaster, and not looked upon as that the Corporation is obliged to repair or keep in repair the same'—a monstrous disclaimer of their obvious duty.

Six months afterwards, Lydiate's long tenure of the mastership ended. The register of St. Mary's records his burial 14 December 1730, when 10s. was paid 'for the Rev. Richard Lydiat's knell,' and 6s. 8d. 'for breaking the ground in the church' for his grave.

At his death Harry succeeded Harry. For Francis Lydiat, the second of three sons who all, in virtue of their kinship to the founder, had been scholars of Winchester and fellows of New College, took over his father's office. Francis Lydiat was baptized in St. Mary's, Warwick, on 30th April 1709, and admitted to St. Mary's, Winchester, in 1724, at the age of 15, which was too late for any one but founder's kin. He must have been a clever boy, or well prepared by his father, as after only half a year he got into 'Sixth Book,' and next year was second in the school, and 'got off' to New College in 1726. There he stayed till he became headmaster of Warwick on his father's death. He remained a fellow of New College all his life, never apparently having married. From 1743 he was also, on the corporation's appointment, vicar of Budbrooke.

In 1735 the Attorney-General brought an Information in Chancery, at the relation of Joseph Brooks and John Phelps, on behalf of themselves and the rest of the inhabitants of Warwick, complaining of the administration of the property granted both by Philip and Mary and also by Henry VIII., and especially that while the income of Henry VIII.'s charity had for a considerable time amounted to over £700 a year, the corporation had never increased the stipends of the vicar and schoolmaster, though they had increased the mayor's salary from £20 to £60, but had wasted the money on themselves and their minor officers and 'in building magnificent buildings.' The defendants answered that they had increased the mayor's salary 'in consideration of his making a treat on being sworn,' which was necessary 'to support the dignity of his

office,' and that they did not know whether the decree in Charles II.'s reign 'intended the other stipends to be increased'; that the new schoolhouse costing £2030 was beneficial, and that taking fines or 'aforehand rents' on leases was also beneficial. On 20 May 1737, in a judgment which had the honour of being reported as *Attorney-General v. Mayor, etc., of Warwick* in *West. temp. Hardwicke*, 55-8, Lord Hardwicke dismissed the suit so far as concerned the 'corporation' property under Philip and Mary's charter, but declared the property under Henry VIII.'s charter to be a charity, and directed accounts for ten years, and the master to report what was to be done for the future. On 17 July 1738 the master reported, disallowing the increase of the mayor's stipend to £60 but allowing £30, and recommending an increase of stipends: for the vicar from £60 to £80, for the assistant to £40, the vicar of St. Nicholas to £60, and of Budbrooke to £31, 18s.; while the schoolmaster was increased to £40 and the usher to £12, which with augmentations to the clerk and sexton amounted to £300, less than half the income; the rest, or £314 a year, to go to repairs of St. Mary's, apprenticing, doles, the bridge, and 'other religious, good and charitable purposes,' as the corporation should think fit. The report was varied on some unimportant particulars by order of the court of 31 October 1739, and the costs, £931, ordered to be paid by the corporation. It was not till 8 October 1742 that the costs were paid, and then only when the estates were sequestrated.

Francis Lydiat was master for 32 years. The eighteenth century everywhere was the age of long masterships. Warwick was no exception. It had only five headmasters between 1700 and 1875. In the absence of records we know absolutely nothing of Francis Lydiat's mastership, except that, in the decadence of later days, it was looked back to as a golden age. He was buried in St. Mary's 27 May 1762. The Commissioners of Inquiry concerning Charities, a roving commission which preceded the present permanent Charity Commission, reported in 1827¹ that 'in the time of his (Mr. Roberts') predecessors it is stated to have been a flourishing school, both for boarders and foundation-boys.'

¹ C. C. R., xvii. 487.

The Rev. James Roberts, who succeeded, was the son of a country parson in Gloucestershire. He was a Bible clerk at All Souls College, matriculating in 1749, and taking his B.A. degree in 1753. He then appears to have migrated to Magdalen Hall, now Hertford College, where he took his M.A. degree in 1762.

We can learn very little of his reign except that it was very long and very unsuccessful. From 1769 he received the stipend of £40 a year as master and £12 a year as usher. On 4 January 1776 the receiver of Henry VIII's charity was ordered not to pay the usher's salary until there should be an usher. But on 4 November the same year it was proposed that £200 should be distributed in augmenting the stipends; and accordingly, in the accounts for 1777, Mr. Coles the vicar received £120 a year, the vicar of St. Nicholas £90, the assistant at St. Mary's and the schoolmaster £60 each. Later entries and accounts show that from 16 July to 7 November 1776 there was an usher in the person of the Rev. George Kelly. In 1778, however, the stipends reverted to the old scale.¹

Great dissatisfaction seems to have existed with Mr. Roberts, and 'a petition was presented by the Corporation, at the request of many of the inhabitants of the Borough of Warwick, to the Lord High Chancellor for the removal of the said James Roberts from his office of Master of the Free Grammar School for neglect of his duty.' Roberts filed a bill on his side.

Both were dismissed, and on 16 March 1778 the corporation had to pay Roberts's costs, amounting to £85, 2s.

From Michaelmas 1777 to Christmas 1778 the Rev. John Sanders was usher, when the Rev. M. Langherne came. In accordance with an order of the High Court, 27 March 1779, retrospective augmentations were paid to the executors of the late vicar and to Mr. Roberts. The income of the charity then amounting to over £1200 a year, Mr. Roberts was paid £75 a year, and the usher, Mr. Langherne, £30 a year, down to Lady Day 1790. In that year Langherne gave place to James Roberts, a son of the master. Next year Roberts, the

¹ Accounts, 1779; Minute, 8 July 1779.

master, died, his widow receiving his salary up to Michaelmas 1791.

The only evidence we have of the state of the school in his later years is derived from the report of Lord Brougham's Commission,¹ which says: 'The School seems to have fallen into great decay under Mr. Roberts, who had been School-master from the year 1763. Towards the latter part of his mastership there were no boarders and few, if any, free scholars.'

¹ C. C. R., xvii. 487.

CHAPTER X

THE SCHOOL IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

ON the election of Roberts's successor it must have appeared that happier times were in store for the school. The choice of the corporation reverted to a scion of the same school that had given them Owen and the Lydiats, whose fame was still green, and fell on one who had already as second master at Rugby, then already established as the chief school of the Midlands, approved himself as qualified to command success in the scholastic world.

George Innes 'was descended¹ from the ancient Scottish family of Innes, of which the Duke of Roxburgh is the head': in after years he was domestic chaplain to the Duke. His father was rector of Devizes, where he was born 5 August 1759. He was admitted a scholar of Winchester College at the age of eleven, in 1770, in the headmastership of the famous Dr. Warton, one of the few friends of Dr. Johnson who dared to maintain a contest on equal terms with the irascible sage, a brother of Tom Warton, the first historian of English poetry, and himself a poet and a fosterer of poets. By 1777 Innes was second in the school, and Prefect of School, Prefect of Hall being the first dignity. But instead of going on to New College in due course, his career was cut short by expulsion for the part he played in a school row, which ended in a riot. It is a little difficult to make out the rights and wrongs of the story. But it appears that one Moody, a big 'Inferior,' who, according to his own account, refused to play cards with a prefect named Western, but was afterwards caught playing cards with juniors during 'books chambers,' or preparation-time, was 'tunded' for it by this same Western. According to him, a systematic course of bullying followed, in

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, cxxi. 11.

which Innes, 'tho' his tutor,' took part, by 'continual wanton and malevolent treatment of him.' The public feeling of the school was strongly against Moody, and when the father came up and removed his son '30 or 40 College boys followed' them through the close throwing stones at them. Moody, jun., was hit on the leg, and the 'father's wig was on the ground which was just before in the hand of a certain boy named Sandby.' The Moodys took refuge in a house in the close and waited till the boys were dispersed. For his share in this riot Innes was expelled, as were Western and another boy. As Western and Moody were contemporaries, the alleged case was not one of bullying of a little boy by a big one, but, if anything, of 'a fifth-form lout' by his contemporaries who had gone up in the school while he remained low down. As Innes's expulsion was not for bullying, but for taking part in this riot against the Moodys, the matter was not particularly discreditable to Innes. At all events, he found no difficulty in obtaining admission to Merton College, from whence, in 1781, he became demy, and in 1788 fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. He left Oxford on taking his B.A. degree in 1783, to become an assistant master at Rugby School, which was then for the first time taking rank as one of the 'great Public Schools,' under Thomas James of Eton and King's, who introduced the Eton system of tutors' and dames' houses. Thanks to the vast increase in value of its London property, the school had been entirely rebuilt and reorganised under an Act of Parliament of 1777. In 1778, when James became headmaster, there were only 52 boys in the school, but by 1783 these were more than doubled, and by the end of James's time, 1794, there were 245 boys. In 1786 there was a rebellion at Rugby School, and, perhaps because of it, next year Innes became Second Master.

He seems to have made his mark there. He is very favourably spoken of by one of his pupils, Charles Apperley, who, under the name of Nimrod, in after days wrote an account of the school as it was in his time.

'Innes was a gentleman in thought, word, and deed as well as an elegant scholar, and in my opinion better fitted for the

headmastership of a large public school than James was. He was disposed to take much trouble with the boys in their lessons, and was consequently extremely strict. He only allowed three faults in the most difficult lessons. He had the upper fourth form next to the fifth and sixth, in which there were only half a dozen. I myself thought very highly of Innes, and certainly respected him more than any of the other masters, although he was so strict. His manner and the carriage of his person were graceful and commanding; and his taste, which he seemed to communicate to the boys, was acute, accurate, and elegant. I liked much to hear him read; and I do not think that this accomplishment could be carried to a greater degree of perfection than it was by him. He was fond of the talent and of displaying it.'

It was probably unfortunate for Innes that Warwick School fell vacant just at this time, as had he stayed two years longer he probably would have succeeded to the headmastership of Rugby. But the *teterrima belli causa*, in the person of Isabella, daughter of Captain Henry Stodart, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, seems to have led him to take the first opening that offered. On 10 February 1793 the Magdalen College Register records that 'uxore ducta sodalitio cessit.'

At Warwick, at first, Innes seems to have enjoyed a considerable measure of success. He found only one or two day-boys and no boarders. During his first year the number of day-boys went up to nine, and remained at about that number for many years; for instance, in 1796 there were ten. All day-boys paid an entrance-fee, by 'established practice,' of $1\frac{1}{2}$ guineas, and 10s. a year for warming and cleaning the school. But if they wanted the services of the writing usher or anything beyond classics, they had to pay for it. For 'perhaps from fifteen to twenty years' the number of boarders was 'considerable,' Mr. Innes told the Municipal Corporation Commission of 1834; while the Commission of Inquiry concerning Charities said that 'during the early part of Mr. Innes' mastership he had a flourishing seminary of private boarders.' But whether the number was thirty, fifty, or seventy, there is no indication. There was an usher—from 1792 to 1798, Mr. Picart; from 1798 to 1803, Mr. Steel; from 1803 to 1807, Mr. Robert Roe. The stipend of the usher was £100 a year, but

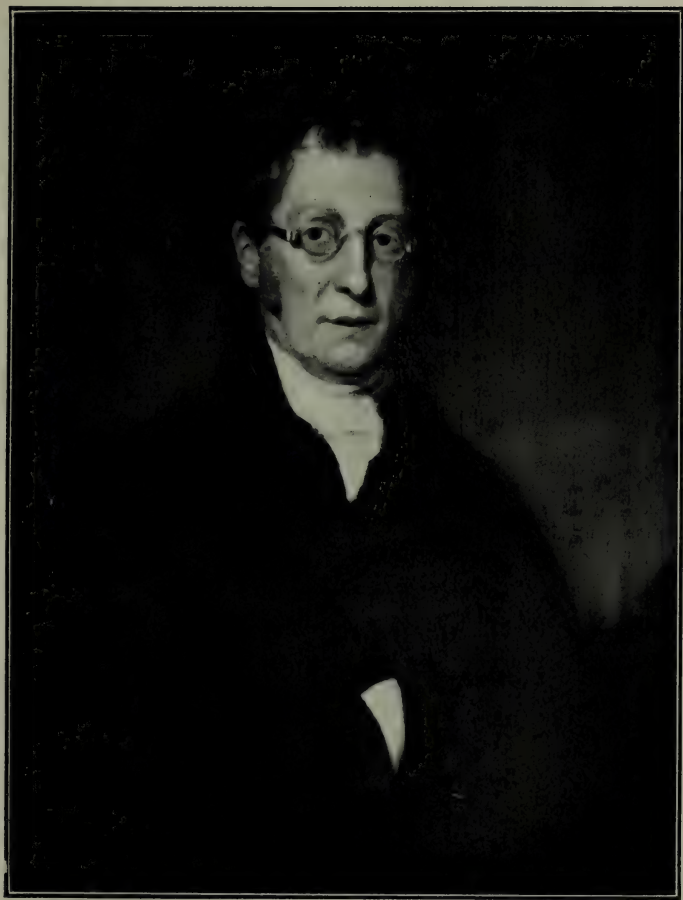
of this only £30 came from the endowment; the rest was made up out of the headmaster's pocket, or private pupils.

The 'Rugby system' of education, we are told, was followed. All boys were taught classics. But only those day-boys who chose to pay for it were taught anything more. For mathematics Innes himself had 'made a compendious form of arithmetic,' but he taught it to those 'only who were remarkably quick and attentive.'

About 1812 Innes became a martyr to gout, and parted with the boarders 'at last merely because my health would not endure it. I was obliged to give it up.' Had there been any system of retiring pension he would no doubt have retired. He had acquired the living of Hilferton in Wiltshire in 1798. In 1816 one of the periodical applications to Chancery for increase of stipends took place, when the master's pay was increased from £75 to £135, the vicar of St. Mary's going at the same time from £135 to £200. There being then no usher, no augmentation was made to the usher's pay—a somewhat slipshod way of doing, or rather not doing, justice. It never seems to have occurred to any one, not even to the Court, to suggest that a master who had already held office for twenty years and was prevented by gout from doing his duty should be pensioned off and a younger man put in his place.

From this time Mr. Innes seems to have confined his efforts to merely teaching those day-boys who insisted on coming. There were 'generally not more than two or three.'

The receiver of Henry VIII.'s charity, Mr. George Cottell Greenway, told the Municipal Commissioners of 1834 that he was at the school when there were only 10 boys in it. Mr. Innes was pressed to say whether there had been any period during his mastership when there was no boy. His answer was: 'I do not think there has ever been such a period. I cannot state, but from memory I am sure there has never been a period in which I have not had one or two.' In 1832 there were 15 boys. Several aldermen, professional men, and others testified to the attention Innes paid to the education of these boys. But the amount of time devoted to it was not excessive. The master attended regularly every day. But 'every other day there is a half-holiday—on Monday, Wed-



THE REV. GEORGE INNES.

HEADMASTER 1792-1842.

From picture in possession of the Vicar, Rev. Canon Rivington.

nesday, and Friday. I enter at about a quarter or half-past ten, until 12 or 1; and in the evening from 2.45 to 3.30 to 4. The boys prepared all their lessons at home, and only came to school to say them. . . . They have every day to repeat a grammar lesson, and give an exercise, and to construe something.' There was no playground. While Innes had boarders he gave them the garden in front of his house, which, when he came, was separated from the house by a wall, as a playground, but after the boarders were given up it was reconverted into a garden.

Of the later days of Mr. Innes, we have a vivid picture in an account given by an old Warwickian, the Rev. James Baly, Archdeacon of Calcutta, and author of 'Eur-Aryan Roots,' in *The Portcullis*, the school paper, for November and December 1900, and July 1902:—

'In 1832, when I was eight years old, and rejoiced in the "sobriquet" of Stumpy, given to me by reason of my mean stature, I went with my father to the school to be admitted. I distinctly remember the childish awe which seized me as we entered the study, a rather dark and stuffy room, filled with shelves of books, handsomely bound, many of them by the Headmaster himself, who was very clever as an amateur in this matter, and upon whom my attention was soon fixed. He was a venerable, scholarly-looking old gentleman, a typical specimen of the "old school," tall and very upright, with grey hair and thin whiskers. On this occasion he was seated in a large invalid's chair, and supported one leg upon a "rest," the foot encased in wraps of large dimensions, such as I had never seen before; in a word, he was suffering from gout. It was arranged that I should commence school upon the following morning, and I accordingly made my way to the only entrance, namely, a door leading from the churchyard, where now some initials are to be seen, but by far the greater number have been erased by "the hand of time," the soft sandstone of the walls not being of sufficiently durable material to hand them down to posterity, as fondly hoped by those who carved them. A few stone steps led into a small court or yard, with a door to the right into an outer room fitted with low cupboards, the tops serving for seats if required; from this

room another door opened upon two steps, landing you in *the* School.

‘This consisted of two large rooms. The outer one was quite bare of furniture except a row of low cupboards, the top of which served as a bench for sitting, all empty and never used while I was at the school. The inner room was the schoolroom.

‘The room was very imperfectly lighted by means of one window placed high up, and across the wall, composed of small “diamond” panes of a dirty green glass, seldom, if ever, cleaned, and set in leaden frames ingeniously devised to exclude light; and these means of obstruction were still further assisted by the shadows of the trees planted in the garden. Nevertheless some light managed to struggle through and, somewhat dimly, exposed to view the Headmaster’s desk, very old and roomy, placed on a platform raised about a foot from the floor, with room enough for half a dozen boys to stand round the desk, and two rows of substantial old-fashioned oak desks along two walls of the room. Between the Headmaster’s desk and a door leading to the private house, an old worm-eaten bench was placed in a corner, never visited by a gleam of sunshine.

‘Almost immediately after my arrival, I was most kindly (as in my innocence I believed) taken in hand by a big boy (N. T.). He inquired after my parents in tender tones, and told me I was a nice little chap, and “he would see after me all right.” He then told me where I must sit, and with much kindness lifted me upon the bench, but no sooner was I set down than a piercing pain seized me in a region of the body neither adapted nor intended for use as a pincushion; I wriggled off in the best way I could, and found that pins had been inserted into the numerous worm-holes by the forethought of my kind patron.

‘The afternoon also brought some little sorrow and disappointment. Another boy (who came to school on the same day) and I were called up for Latin translation, for it was assumed that boys knew, or at least had a “smattering” of Latin before going to the “College.” Our first exploit was one of Phædrus’ fables (*Æsop’s*), that of the Frogs asking Jupiter to send to them a King of more

intelligence and energy than was possessed by their Log, which was not giving satisfaction. My school-fellow, being one year older than I, was called upon to begin, and boldly led off with "fremuerunt," the frogs, "ranae," croaked, naturally induced to do so by the fact of the verb and "frogs" both beginning with "fr." We were a little shocked to see the effect produced upon our reverend instructor. He snatched the book from the astonished pupil and banged it violently upon the desk, as in pious anger and with loud voice he exclaimed, "Good Heavens! what a fool!" In a state bordering upon fear, I was ordered to "go on," and profiting by what had taken place, it only remained for me to construe the words the other way about. But it was too late to repair damages, and we were relegated to the elements for some time.

'My first Latin book was called the *Accidence*, which had to be learnt by heart at home, and repeated at School; and exercises in declining nouns, adjectives, and the conjugations of verbs, after the patterns given in the *Accidence*, had to be written out at home, and shown to the Headmaster in School. I suppose this stage must have occupied a year, or a year and a half. The next step was the *Eton Latin Grammar*, which was divided into four parts. (1st) "*Propria quae maribus*," teaching the genders of nouns. (2nd) "*As in presenti*," which taught the formation of the perfect tense in the four conjugations. These two parts were written in *Hexameters*. The first began, "*Propria quae maribus sunt nomina, mascula dicas*"; the second, "*As in presenti perfectum format in-avi, Ut, no, nas, navi, vocito, vocitas, vocitavi*." (3rd) *Syntax*, or the construction of sentences. And (4th) *Prosody*, which treated of the quantity of vowels, especially of the final vowels, whether long or short, by authority or position. All these treatises were written in Latin, and had to be learnt by heart in Latin; but at the end of the book was an exact word for word translation of them all, which enabled the boy to know their meaning, and to construe them from the Latin. Sometime during the *Eton Latin Grammar* stage, we had begun on the *Greek Grammar* (though that was not so closely and carefully worked out as the Latin), and also been introduced to *Phædrus' Fables*—the first

really Latin book I read—but, alas! I remember no more than the first line of the first fable: “Lupus et agnus forte ad eundem rivum venerant.” This was followed by a compilation called “Selecta e sacris et selecta e profanis,” of which I only remember that it was badly printed on bad paper, and intolerably dull. It must have been about the same time that I made my first attempt at Latin poetry in the shape of nonsense verses, that is, Hexameter and Pentameter lines, constructed from words conveying no connected meaning, but so placed as to give the right measure and rhythm. We elder boys helped the younger, and rejoiced if we could find any simple enough to accept as a nonsense verse these two lines:

“Praeceptor, scripsi, sed non haec carmina feci,
Da mihi, praceptor, verbera multa, precor.”

From nonsense verses we proceeded to sense verses, turning English lines, adapted to the purpose, into Latin Elegiac verse, by the aid of a book called *Gradus ad Parnassum* (Steps to Parnassus), containing synonyms and metaphorical phrases. In those days Latin poetry took the first rank. Latin prose was not so much thought of or studied, and I cannot remember any attempt at writing Latin prose under Mr. Innes. The highest Latin books I read were Caesar *de bello Gallico*, Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, Virgil’s *Georgics* and *Aeneid*. These two latter books were of the Delphin edition of the Classics, so called because they had been intended to lighten the studies of the Dauphin of France, afterwards Louis xv. In the margin there was a re-arrangement of the words in the usual order of French prose, so that the sense of the author was more easily understood. When that sense was improper, no interpretation was given (asterisks filling its place), in order that the mind of the young Dauphin should not be corrupted! It was in this way that we first read Ovid and Virgil.

‘The first Greek book given us was the *Analecta Graeca Minora*—a selection of simple and easy Greek extracts from various authors. Many of them were anecdotes, evidently collected by some Grecian Joe Miller, and all beginning with the words: “Scholastikos tis—a certain foolish fellow.” Mr.

Innes did his best to make us see the point of the joke, which an imperfect acquaintance with the Greek tongue prevented us from catching. I can only remember one at this distance of time—that of the foolish fellow who carried about with him, wrapped up in a cloth, the fragment of a brick, as a sample of the fine house he had to sell. My last Greek book was the *Analecta Graeca Majora*—more difficult extracts from various authors—both prose and verse. We had no help given us by the notes, such as are found in modern school-books, and the dictionaries we used then were of the most meagre class. Ainsworth's was my Latin Dictionary, which was published in 1736, and my Greek Lexicon was that of Schrevelius. It was full of old Greek contractions, in which two or three letters were intertwined, after the manner of the modern monogram, but infinitely harder to decipher. The printing and the paper were simply abominable, and must have dated from the early part of the seventeenth century. My next Lexicon was Donnegan's, if I remember rightly, with better type and paper, and easier to make out. But its scholarship was poor, as an example, if I may trust my memory, will show: *Anthropos*, a man, was derived from *ana*—up, *trepo*—to turn, and *ops*—a face, which conveyed the meaning that man was so called, as the animal who turned his face upwards!¹

'To read English and know English grammar was not in the programme. Neither were modern or ancient history, geography, geometry, or any modern language.

'Such was the education given at Warwick School during my six years' attendance, from 1832 to 1838. It must not be supposed that we received no education in the items of writing, arithmetic, and reading English. But we had to go elsewhere for it, to the master of the Bablake School, held in St. Peter's Chapel, then East Gate, from 8.30 to 9, and again from 12 to 1, his disengaged hours. Here we learnt to read English, each boy reading portions of one of "Steven's Daily Reflections" for

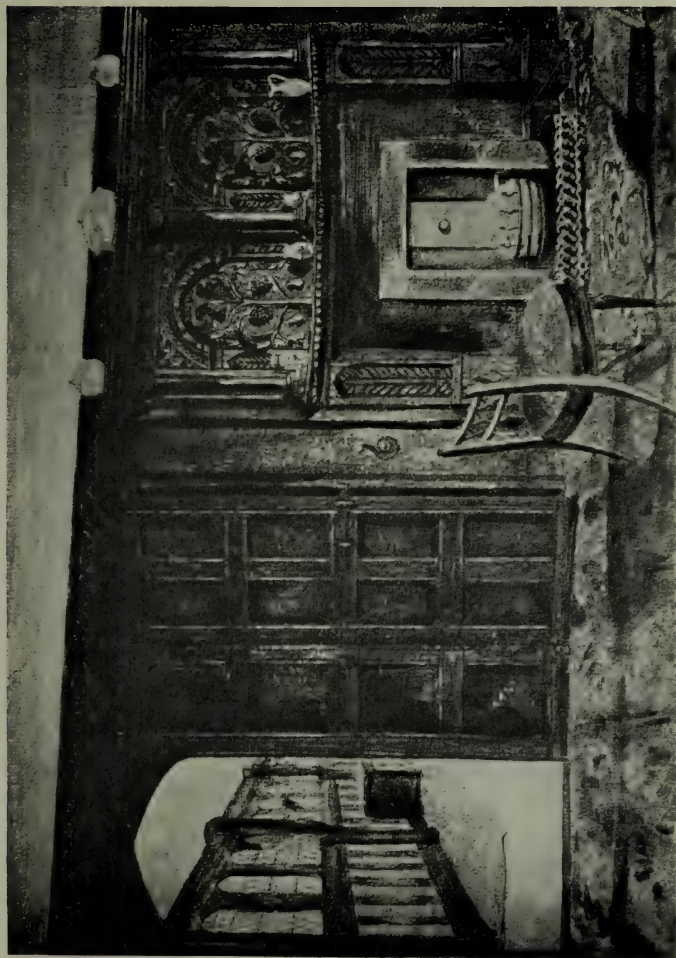
¹ The reverend archdeacon's memory here wrongs Innes and Donnegan. I have the Donnegan's Lexicon which my father used at Rugby at about this date—2nd edition, 1831—and find that Donnegan mentions the derivation only to reject it as absurd.

every day of the year. It was a dreadfully dull and much self-repeating book, written by a pious German pastor or professor. As far as I can remember, this was all the English reading I had in school. In arithmetic I went as far as Rule of Three, and I acquired a good handwriting, of which, even now, I am not ashamed. Our religious instruction in school began and ended with writing out, and learning on Saturday, the following Sunday's Collect.

'When I went to the school there were only 13 boys, and during my six years' stay there were never more than 18.

'Mr. Innes was an exceedingly kind and gentle old man. When he met us in the street he not infrequently treated us to a Bath bun, or gave us the coppers to treat ourselves, at the then well-known confectioner's shop kept by Miss Harriss, a Quaker lady. His severest punishment was pulling our hair on the tender skin just over the ear, and his worst reproach was to call us "little varlets." When I first came to the school, he used to take clerical work at Budbrooke, if I remember rightly. He was much troubled with gout in his later years, and had to discontinue this. He would occasionally hear the small boys their declensions or conjugations. During this he would secure a small lock of the hair between his thumb and forefinger, so that he could at once, upon hearing a false quantity or a wrong pronunciation, apply the torture very effectually, as he said in a kindly voice, but too slowly for us, "You foolish boy! You stupid boy!" screwing up the hair all the time with a cunning peculiar to himself. When the attacks of gout came on, a message came from him that he would hear our lessons in his study, which we rather liked, as we sat on chairs—square, horse-haired, mahogany chairs, after the fashion of the day—and amused ourselves by looking at the pictures, and the walls covered with books, and a huge violoncello standing in the corner. Bookbinding and playing the violoncello were his hobbies; the latter was rather solemn and mournful in sound as it reached the school, but his bookbinding was excellent.

'At other times he would say, "Boys, I will hear you your lessons to-morrow"; and our delight was great as we quietly left the study. The small boys' instruction became beauti-



THE HEADMASTER'S STUDY AT THE OLD SCHOOL, FORMERLY THE COLLEGE OF VICARS CHORAL.

fully less. There was nothing approaching a fixed time for lessons, though we were expected to be in attendance in case we were called up. There was no assistant-master until the last two or three years of Mr. Innes' headmastership, when the Rev. Arthur Gem was appointed; and from that time the greater part of the school work was conducted by him, and more was done. Our recognised hours of work were as follows: from 10.30 to 11.15 or 11.30 A.M. every day of the week, and from 2.30 to 3.15 P.M. on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. The other three days were half-holidays. Very frequently we were not called in for work before 11 A.M. and 3 P.M., so that, as will be seen, there was plenty of time left for play—nearly half an hour before, and more than half an hour after school, both morning and afternoon.'

So much for the work. Of the play of his time the Arch-deacon gives an account, which will be amazing to the present generation, with its ample meads.

'Our games depended upon the weather, and the unwritten law regulating the succession of games; for marbles, tops, and hoops had then each its proper season year by year.

'The churchyard was the only available space for play, the school playground having been for many years confiscated for the headmaster's kitchen garden, where luscious apples and plums swung high above our heads, or waved in the distance, a sight too tempting at times for thirsty boys to endure. Occasional raids were made into, what appeared to us youngsters, inaccessible heights, as we stood by and wondered how they would fare in the "coming down," for good "bags" were not always made, and escape now and then was cut off or delayed. If the master was gouty, he employed a gardener who was not, neither was he altogether ignorant of the ways of boys on apples intent; indeed, he seemed to know more than the boys themselves, who, on these occasions, appeared to have their powers of observation somewhat blunted; knowing well, that if not so afflicted, a much heavier affliction at the hands of the "big chaps" would most certainly have to be endured.

'In the absence of regular games there were of course irregular ones. A very favourite pastime of the "elders" was to

make two youngsters challenge each other to fight. This entertainment was always carried on in the small court or yard, where privet bushes were planted to conceal certain necessary buildings from view. When preliminary arrangements had been made, our "Patrons" proceeded to turn up our trousers above the knees and supply us with twigs of efficient substance to "bite well"; with these we lashed into each other's "calves," fresh twigs being provided as required to replace the broken ones. The "winner" usually had to tackle another boy, and so on until he was dubbed "cock of the walk," a title of which we were proud.

'With respect to the flat and steeple races which formed a considerable portion of our games, it should be explained that there were not any iron railings round the churchyard, as now, but a substantial and much lower wooden rail, armed with spikes inserted some six inches apart. Where access into the churchyard was required, of course these were much in the way, and had to be removed by the aid of paving stones and much patience, for the operation was often disturbed by the "existing powers," and we had to "cut and run." These spikes, in course of time, became conspicuously absent, especially at the starting-place for flat races, viz. "Brooke's Tomb," and again opposite to the entrance of the "Tink-a-Tank" Lane, where the finish took place. For a considerable distance opposite to the entrance of the school a spike was not to be seen, for comfortable seats were necessary for the "out-door parliament" which sat to discuss and arrange the details of daily play. It was the fashion of the day to protect the mounds over the graves with two briars placed from end to end and three across, a most objectionable and pernicious practice from our point of view, because they caught the feet and landed the victim sprawling and completely "winded" upon the next grave, or led to the necessity of dodging between and thus making the "course" much longer. Some years after 1842 this racing track was plainly visible. The steeple races were run on the gravel path, the jumps were briars "borrowed" from the graves and held across by small boys, who as a rule were not allowed to join in this higher class of racing, for which, for the most part, only big boys entered.

‘Notwithstanding this the stakes were small, money was scarce, and many “heats” were demanded before they were paid over.

‘Both single races, and what were called jockeying races, in which a bigger boy held the jacket, tightly buttoned, of a smaller boy, and lifted him up or pushed him on to increase his speed. Our races were held in the churchyard walk with longer or shorter courses. The longest course went all round, starting from the college doors, through the walk, into Church Street, then under the tower of St. Mary’s Church, re-entering the churchyard by the Sheep Street Gate, back to the college door, or to the Tinkertank Gate, the gate of the narrow lane leading just outside the churchyard from the Butts to Market Street, as the winning-post. The half-course was from Sheep Street, now Northgate Street, Gate. The quarter-course from Mr. Boudier’s (the then Vicar’s) gate to the Tinkertank Gate, as winning-post. By way of change we had occasional steeple-chases over the graves and tombstones of the churchyard, or played “Prisoners’ base” or “I spy, catch, and carry” among them. I am ashamed now to tell the tale, but so it was, we did not think it wicked or unseemly; at least they never told us, either cleric or lay. There was only one man who troubled us, one Thomas Hadley, the son of the old sexton, whom I afterwards learned to know as a most respectable man; but we teased him at his work, and perhaps now and then interfered with his tools or hid them, which caused the relations between us to be strained, and he would sometimes pursue us angrily and attack us from the rear with the back of his spade as we retreated. Another favourite occupation was “party-fighting,” carried on also in the churchyard walk; each party carried switches cut from the lime-trees that were planted close by its side. In this we hurt ourselves far less than the trees, though we charged each other time after time most fiercely as long as a switch was left unbroken. Sometimes ill blood arose between us and the “Boblic” schoolboys—so the word was then pronounced and spelt, but I have learned since that Bablake is the correct form. These boys, clad in their blue coats and orange breeches, came from the Charity School over the Eastgate, and marching through the Tinkertank, halted at

its gate. We of the college stood ready for them on the other side of the gate. They were many, and we were few. We looked severely at them, and they at us, but neither party passed through the gate. The thought, I well remember, passed through my mind that, if they did come through, we should get the worst of it. However, they did not; and after mutual threats of what we could do to one another, and, with much unseemly language, each party drew off peacefully.

‘Our familiarity with the churchyard by day did not, however, make us less afraid of it by night. I don’t think the boldest among us would have cared to walk through it on a dark night. The east side of the church was regarded as a very uncanny position, particularly at night, and we thought that all the graves in the extreme east corner of the churchyard were those of suicides and murderers. The crypt, or charnel-house under the chancel, more commonly called the bonehouse, was also a thought of terror.

‘While not contending that the parish churchyard is a fit and proper place for a playground, it may be said that certain experiences were to be learned there which the modern playground does not afford. For example, we picked up the art of making whistles from the branches of the lime-trees; and here and there a genius was found who succeeded in playing the semblance of a tune so that it could be recognised in places by the aid of a lively imagination.

‘We also had frequent opportunities of perfecting ourselves in the art of climbing and seeking temporary safety in the branches from our enemies, as Charles II. did in the oak to evade his pursuers. We acquired, too, a slight and crude knowledge of osteology by handling quantities of bones which were thrown out when graves were dug; perhaps we did not regard them so much from a scientific point of view, but rather as convenient projectiles for throwing at the gravedigger when well down in his work. With him a chronic, natural feud seemed to exist, not without cause on his part. When we pelted him with the bones which he had “spaded” out, it was “awful” to hear anathemas of a most personal character emerge from the earth, accompanied by

promises of such a dreadful nature, as he shouted "Oh! I know who you be," etc.

'Of course we had other places for other games. "Bandy" was played in the road by the "Pigwells," or in the lower part of the Butts; peg-top, whip-top, duck-stone, rounders, hoop (tournaments and races), marbles, leap-frog, prisoners' base, one off all off, pitch-button, had their appointed localities in the streets. The market-place was naturally most in favour, on account of its larger area and the greater number of openings it afforded for escape when needed. In wet weather the games of batfives, battledore and shuttlecock, "baste the bear," and "puss in the corner," were played in the large empty outer room of the school. We varied these occasionally by treating Mr. Innes' desk as a citadel, held by one party and fiercely attacked by another. Of course this, being attended by some degree of noise, was only possible when he was confined to his study by an attack of gout, and poor Mrs. Innes would send a servant, or sometimes come herself, to "beg the young gentlemen not to make such a noise." This made us feel somewhat ashamed, and we went outside to the college door into the churchyard, which, from within, we defended against the enemy attacking us from without, with much pushing and pummelling until one gave in.

'The "Burgesses" of the ancient borough exercised very much forbearance, for the noise which accompanied our games must have been a veritable and very considerable affliction. We were in blissful ignorance of all bye-laws, if they existed at all, and no police patrolled the streets. "Old Bellerby," the chief of the watchmen, exercised a feeble and theoretical terror over us, but, poor man! he was dropsical, desperately short of breath, and utterly unable to pursue; he was therefore satisfied to "let us off easy" upon the distinct understanding that if he caught us up to any tricks he would "tweak our ears well," a remote contingency which did not interfere with our peace of mind.

'One opening for amusement and enterprise which then existed is now closed. A great number of stage-coaches passed through the town, and we eagerly cultivated an acquaintance

with coachmen and guards, who frequently let us "get up behind" and have a ride, a treat greatly appreciated and sought after. They were jolly fellows, good-humoured and cheerful as a rule, and told us many a tale.

'Thus things passed on, but it was not to last much longer; for on our way to school one morning, in July 1842, we were told our old master was dead.'

Innes's wife had died, 5 October 1841, aged seventy-three, and he was not long in following her.

An obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* probably recalls the Innes of his prime when it spoke of his 'extensive and accurate learning; the happy facility of imparting which is well remembered by many who had the advantage of benefiting by his instruction. Combining a fine taste and correct judgment with conversational powers of the highest order, he was a most intellectual and agreeable companion.' On the east wall of the north transept of St. Mary's a tablet records that

'Near this place repose the mortal remains of the Rev. George Innes, M.A., 50 years Master of King Henry VIII.'s School at the College in this town, who died the 17th of July 1842 in his 83rd year.

'An accomplished scholar and gentleman, to strict integrity and independence of character, he united Christian simplicity, humility, and love.

'She who alone survives of those who best knew his worth has erected this tablet to his memory.'

The 'she' was his daughter, Mrs. Harris. Her father's memory was further honoured when, in 1876, the westernmost window on the north side of the chancel was filled with glass painted by himself, 'the gift of George Harris, Esq., barrister-at-law, of Iscliffe Manor, Southall, in memory of his father-in-law the late Rev. George Innes and of Mrs. Innes.' An inscription below records that George Harris, LL.D., F.S.A., *pinxit et donavit*.

The only pupil of Mr. Innes's earlier days known to fame is Serjeant Adams, who is said by Innes's successor to have

been under him.¹ If so, it could have been only for a year, till he went, perhaps owing to Innes's connection, to Winchester. He wrote a law-book noted in its day, *Adams on Ejectment*, and deserved fame for the ameliorations of law and practice which he introduced, through his influence as Chairman of Middlesex Quarter Sessions, into prison discipline, the treatment of juvenile criminals, and especially in regard to lunatics. But Warwick can claim but little part in him.

Towards the end of Innes's time, on 28 November 1833, one of the periodical applications to Chancery for increase of stipends took place. Two years later, 27 November 1835, the case was referred to A. H. Lynch, a Master in Chancery, to report, which he did another year later, 12 November 1838. The income of the charity was then found to amount to £2761, 14s. 9d., of which the original beneficiaries received £850, 10s.; repairs, including the churches, £522; and the rest went to the lighting and watching of the town—in other words, to save rates—a result certainly not contemplated by the founder of the charity. As regards the school the Master reported 'that the Free Grammar School is in an inefficient state in consequence of the limited system of instruction, caused by the advanced age of the master and other causes, and it would be a most important benefit to the Borough if the said School could be rendered more generally useful to the Inhabitants; that the buildings require repair and alteration for such purposes, and additional salaries would be necessary to masters in order to extend the system of education,' and 'that when there should be sufficient funds the Schoolhouse should be taken down and rebuilt'; such care had the Court of Chancery for a picturesque building five hundred years old. He also recommended a scheme for the school. The clergy's stipends were increased: the vicar from £250 to £280; the Vicar of St. Nicholas from £200 to £220, and the assistant from £105 to £120. The schoolmaster and usher were left out in the cold.

¹ *Warwickshire Worthies*, p. 1, says that he was at Uppingham and at Winchester, 'where he remained only a short time in consequence of ill-health.' But the Winchester Long Rolls show him there as a commoner from 1793 to 1798.

Meanwhile the Municipal Corporations Act, 1835, just at the moment when by being made really representative and public bodies the municipalities had become more fit to be trusted with administrative powers, divested them of the trusteeship of charities including schools. By an order of Court, 19 October 1836, a body of municipal charity trustees was appointed, to manage the school as well as the other charities of the town.

After three years' more delay, Mr. Innes having then died, by an order of the Court of 25 November 1842, the case was again referred to Master Lynch to prepare a scheme for the school, 'adding instruction in commercial and general education to instruction in grammar and other learning fit to be taught in a Grammar School.'

Nearly two years more elapsed before the Master made his report, 11 July 1844. He then found that the Lord Chancellor had appointed the Rev. Herbert Hill, headmaster, and that the trustees instead of, like Vandals, pulling down the ancient college, had spent £1503 on repairing and altering it. It is strange that it never seems to have occurred to either the trustees or the Court that if the school was to become really successful it needed not only new buildings but a greatly enlarged site, though if they had given any attention to the cause of the extraordinary development of not only Eton but the more modern foundations of Rugby and Harrow, and the decline of Westminster and Charterhouse, they would have perceived that it was not only activity and ability in the headmaster but the enlargement of boundaries and the extension of its playing fields and its schoolrooms that make and mar a school. It may be still true as of old that men not walls make a city, but unless the men have an ample city in which to labour their strength is spent in vain. It took the experience of another thirty years to teach this lesson to Warwick.

Meanwhile Master Lynch very properly made one material extension. He found that £300 a year, the endowment recommended in the Court's order of 25 November 1842 as sufficient for the school, was insufficient, and that the tuition fees must be increased.

His scheme accordingly provided for a governing body, consisting of the Earl of Warwick, the Mayor, and the Recorder *ex officio*, two nominees of the Town Council, and two of the Municipal Charity Trustees. The charity estate was, besides keeping the college in repair, to contribute £310, 10s. a year, viz. for the Headmaster, £200; Under-master, £100; Writing-master, £50; French master, £50; Examiner's fee, £10, 10s.

The tuition fees were to be £4, 4s. a year—a totally inadequate amount—for sons of resident householders in the borough, £7, 7s. for residents in the borough not children of inhabitants, and £10, 10s. a year for outsiders. This was a most unfortunate distinction, tending to keep out the outsiders and thereby to stunt the growth and limit the numbers of the school, though the more who could be induced to flock into it, the greater the benefit to the inhabitants of the borough by increasing the efficiency of the school. But it took another generation and a special commission to discover a truth which, like the doctrine of Free Trade, appears at first sight to be a paradox, and only by a wide experience is seen to be a truism. Of the fees, after deduction of £10, 10s. for prizes, one-fifth went to the under-master, another fifth to the commercial or writing-master, and the rest to the headmaster. By a curious and inconsistent provision the headmaster was now bound to be what he had never been bound to be before—in holy orders; while both he and the usher were, at the same time, forbidden to do what they had almost invariably done in the past, because they could not have lived without it—namely, hold an ecclesiastical appointment with cure of souls. The prohibition did not extend to any benefice from which they could get licence of non-residence, nor to 'any lectureship, chaplaincy, or other appointment the duties of which will not interfere with' taking the boys to church on Sunday. The Court of Chancery was beginning to discover that schoolmastering is a profession which demands a whole man and not half a man, though they had not discovered that the teaching profession is not a branch of the clerical profession. Still it was something that Chancery had, in 1842, advanced to forbidding the combination of a living with the mastership.

Express recognition was given by the scheme to the head-master's taking boarders; but they were limited in number to thirty. No doubt this was as large, and perhaps a larger number than the old college could conveniently hold. But the limitation was a mistake as discouraging the system of separate masters' houses, by which alone a school like Warwick could hope to be permanently filled.

The scheme was approved by the Court, and took effect from 14 January 1845, not quite ten years after the initiation of proceedings.

But long before that all the reforms which it directed had been in fact introduced, and were in full working order.

CHAPTER XI

A NEW START

IN the Rev. Herbert Hill, whom the Lord Chancellor had chosen to preside over the reconstituted school, Warwick again found in its headmaster one who, like his predecessor, had been a Rugby master and a Winchester boy.

In his later years Innes had found a deputy, Mr. Arthur Gem, to teach the school for him, and there were some seventeen boys under him. Lord Warwick tried to procure Gem's election to the headmastership. 'But,' says Mr. Hill, 'some county pressure, Shirley and Mordaunt, prevailed for me, and so I was appointed.'

Hill's father was Chancellor of Hereford Cathedral and rector of Streatham, near London, where he was born, 8 December 1810. At the age of thirteen, in 1823, he was admitted, together with his younger brother Errol, a scholar of Winchester College. It is strange to think that Hill, who was superannuated as headmaster of Warwick in 1876, was contemporary in age and two years junior in admission to the school with J. E. Sewell, who died in harness as warden of New College only in 1904. Hill was elected a scholar at New College, where he matriculated 11 April 1829,¹ and in due time became a full fellow.

In 1833 Hill removed to Rugby, where he apparently set up some sort of preparatory school.

Dr. Arnold was then in the height of his fame as headmaster. He wrote to Mr. Serjeant, afterwards Justice, Coleridge,² October 23, 1833: 'I saw Southey once at Keswick

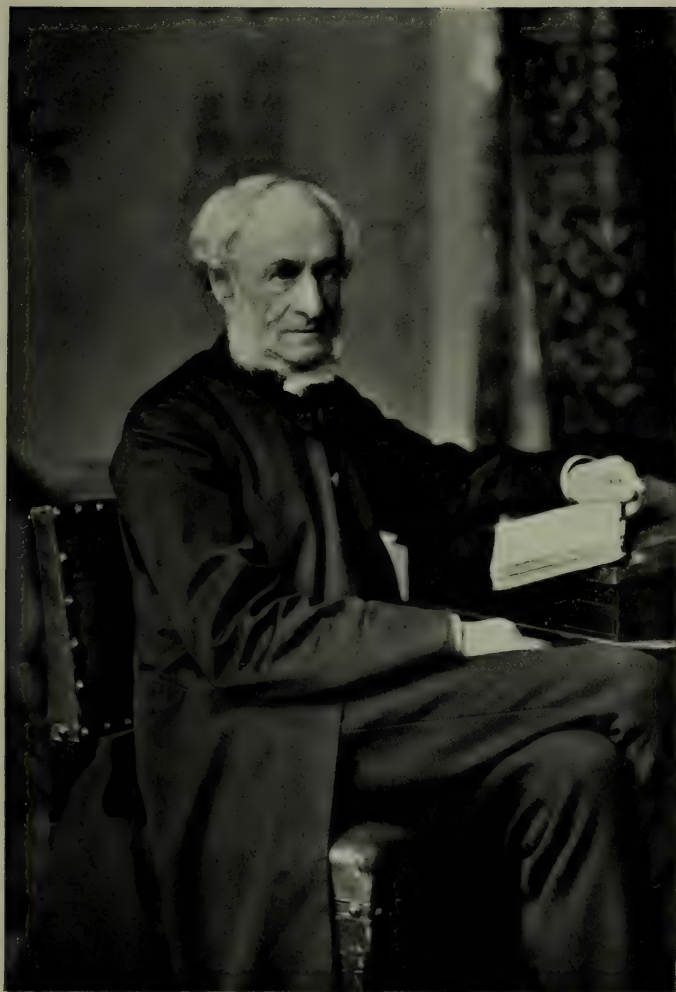
¹ Mr. T. Kirby's *Winchester Scholars* makes Hill a fellow in 1828. But that is a mistake. A scholar did not become a fellow till two years after his admission.

² *Life of Thomas Arnold*, by A. P. (Dean) Stanley, i. 267.

and had a very friendly interview. His cousin, Herbert Hill, is now the tutor to my own boys. He lives in Rugby, and the boys go to him every day to their great benefit. He is a fellow of New College, and it rejoices me to talk over Winchester recollections together.'

Arnold has, thanks to the *vates sacer* whom he found in the author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, attained a fame, the right to which he would himself have been the first to disclaim, as the real creator of Rugby as a great public school, and the inventor of the public school ideal of a gentleman and a scholar. Nothing is more certain than that, as we have already seen, James first elevated Rugby to 'public school' rank, and that Wooll, Arnold's predecessor, and like him a Wykehamist, had made it one of the largest public schools in the kingdom; while as for Arnold's ideal of a Christian and a gentleman, and his system of trusting to the honour of the boys, any one who has studied the subject knows, and indeed he himself professed, that he was merely carrying to Rugby the spirit and the methods of Dr. Goddard at Winchester. How much, in fact, Arnold was influenced by his own experience at Winchester is shown by his first notable action at Rugby, being a deliberate reduction of the numbers from the four hundred of Dr. Wooll's time to some 250, by the extrusion and exclusion of the undesirable. This was a conscious imitation of the mistaken rule, founded entirely on the accidental circumstance of the circumscribed area of the school site, which then, and for nearly fifty years more, limited Winchester to 200. Its one merit was that it enabled the headmaster to pick and choose whom he should admit, and rendered it easy to turn out those who were found amiss. But such picking and choosing is but a haphazard method among boys of ten or eleven, the usual age for going to a public school then, and the system of turning out is one requiring great tact and impartiality in the exercise. It broke down, in fact, at Winchester.

Tom and Matthew Arnold, Hill's pupils, went to Winchester in 1836. Arnold seems to have found that the spirit and methods of Goddard no longer prevailed there, and they were soon recalled to Rugby. Hill stayed at Rugby taking



THE REV. HERBERT HILL.
HEADMASTER 1843-76.

private pupils, but became an assistant-master at Rugby School in 1836-37. The following letter from Arnold to Hill some years later, 8 May 1840, shows both the kindly interest he took in Hill himself, and is characteristic of Arnold's own breadth of view, and how much he was in advance of the usual classical headmasters of his time in his views of science as a subject of instruction in schools:—

‘I was very glad indeed to find that [names omitted] were to go to you, but before I heard it, I was going to send you an exhortation, which, although you may think it needless, I will not even now forbear. It is that you should without fail instruct your pupils in the six books of Euclid at least. I am, as you know, no mathematician, and therefore my judgment in this matter is worth so much the more, because what I can do in mathematics anybody can do; and as I can teach the first six books of Euclid, so I am sure can you. Then it is a grievous pity that at your age, and with no greater amount of work than you now have, you should make up your mind to be shut out from one great department, I might almost say from many great departments, of human knowledge. Even now I would not allow myself to say that I should never go on in mathematics, unlikely as it is at my age; yet I always think if I were to go on a long voyage, or were in any way hindered from using many books, I should turn very eagerly to geometry and other such studies. But further, I really do think that with boys and young men it is not right to leave them in ignorance of the beginnings of physical science. It is so hard to begin anything in after life, and so comparatively easy to continue what has been begun, that I think we are bound to break ground, as it were, into several of the mines of knowledge with our pupils, that the first difficulties may be overcome by them while there is yet a power from without to aid their own faltering resolution, and that so they may be enabled, if they will, to go on with the study hereafter. I do not think that you do a pupil full justice if you so entirely despise Plato's authority as to count geometry in education to be absolutely good for nothing. I am sure that you will forgive me for urging this, for I think that it concerns you much, and I am quite sure that you ought not to run the risk of losing a pupil because you will not master the six books of Euclid, which, after all, are not to be despised for one's very own solace and delight. For I do not know that Pythagoras did

anything strange, if he sacrificed a hecatomb when he discovered that marvellous relation between the squares containing and subtending a right angle, which the 47th proposition of the first book demonstrates.'

Hill no doubt had profited by the lesson thus conveyed, and by contact with the broad views of Dr. Arnold, when he came to Warwick. Immediately on his accession all the reforms, which were subsequently authorised or directed by the Chancery Scheme in June 1845, had been introduced. He had at once restored to the boys the playground which Innes had reconverted into its original condition of a garden. The whole boarding accommodation was recast and improved. How much this was needed may be gauged from the fact, recorded by Mr. Hill, that one room which had four beds in it, and in Innes's time was rumoured to accommodate two boys in each bed, was only eight feet high.

Instead of attending an hour or two a day, he devoted his whole time to the school and to the boys. He brought in an efficient Second Master, as he was now called after the fashion of Winchester, in the person of the Rev. William Symonds Newman, who, like Hill himself, was a Wykehamist, but a commoner there, and afterwards a fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. A writing and lower mathematical master, Mr. S. Gwinnett, and after a short time a French master, were added.

The school quickly filled, probably beyond its real capacity, and the number of boys in the earliest school list now extant and in possession of the school, that for June 1844, is fifty-two. Mr. Hill used to keep a list of the town boys admitted, but informed one of his successors that he had lost it.

The school was then divided into six classes; the sixth, or highest, containing six boys, while the fourth, which was the biggest, had eleven boys. In 1847 the school was headed by R. C. Heath, of whom hereafter. Mr. F. H. Moore, of Warwick, has copies of the half-yearly lists in his time, 1854-1866. From 1844 to 1866 the numbers ranged from 41 to 51, being generally 50 or close on it, but never apparently exceeding 51. One of the lists is remarkable in being, somewhat prophetically, dated June 23, 1959, and from containing a sixth form of five boys, of whom the first four were Moore, F. Moore, W. Moore,

Wm. Moore, the two first being marked as prize-winners. These school lists give the names of the examiners, who were almost invariably fellows of New College, or other Wykehamists of eminence. Thus in 1849 the examiner was the Rev. James



A Corner of the Old School.

E. Sewell, afterwards warden of New College; and in 1857 George Ridding, then fellow of Exeter, afterwards headmaster of Winchester and Bishop of Southwell, who died only last year, 1905; and in 1867 it was the Rev. W. A. Spooner, then fellow, now warden, of New College.

In 1848 a French master, M. Tourniere, succeeded next

year by M. Cauville, for the first time makes his appearance. In 1855 there was a new Second Master in the person of the Rev. J. S. Boucher, to be succeeded in 1857 by the Rev. J. Mountague.

In 1854 there was a movement for the improvement of the school, and a scheme was sent up to the Charity Commission, which had been created the year before by the Charitable Trusts Act, 1853. It was never proceeded with. But the movement possibly produced the new development, which characterises the school list in 1855. For in that year the school is first given in two orders: one for general work, and the other for mathematics and arithmetic, an arrangement always preserved afterwards. This innovation, and the subsequent addition in 1858 of a drawing-master, shows that Mr. Hill was by no means, as has sometimes been represented, impervious to new ideas. It is noticeable that in 1855 the first in the school, in both general and mathematical order, was J. B. Bloxidge, as he continued to be till 1858, when he left with a Fulke Weale Exhibition and an open scholarship at Exeter College. At Oxford he obtained a first class, both in moderations and also in final schools; and became one of the mainstays of the famous crammer's 'Wren's,' to which so many Indian civil servants owe their success. His successor Moore equally achieved the double distinction, as did Leeds, in 1862, who won a scholarship at Exeter.

There is no doubt the education given by Mr. Hill was of a very superior order, as the number of scholarships won at the universities with his small numbers, most of them day-boys, sufficiently testifies. It is commonly assumed in current talk that the relations of masters and boys were very much less friendly, and that less care was devoted to them, to the study of their conduct and character and their inner life, than is now the case. There is, at all events, no ground for this assumption in the case of Mr. Hill. Mr. F. H. Moore still preserves his old school reports, and though his modesty prevents their being reproduced here, extracts read from some of them show that the reports were signed by each master with whom the boy was concerned, and at least as carefully and thoroughly prepared as those of the present day.

Mr. R. C. Heath contributes an interesting survey of this period. 'My recollection of the Rev. Herbert Hill dates from the first day of the opening of the school after his appointment as headmaster. In appearance Mr. Hill was tall and thin, and of grave and thoughtful countenance, but he had a keen sense of humour, and when he smiled his face was lit up and transferred into a model of kindly intelligence. He had a habit of walking up and down the schoolroom when not employed with a class, and while doing so would recite quietly, and not always very audibly, extracts from Latin poets, principally Horace. He made a great point of boys learning by heart, and we often had to take up at examinations two or three books of Virgil or Horace's Odes, prepared to be called upon to repeat twenty lines from any part. We learned the books by heart piecemeal as we read them during the half year, and then at the examination were supposed to be able to repeat the whole.'

This was an importation of the Winchester 'standing-up,' or repetition, as to which astounding feats of memory are reported. Lord Selborne, for instance, records a boy in his day, contemporary with Hill (1825-30), the Honourable Henry Butler, who took up the whole *Iliad* by heart, and passed well in it. He was famous for his heroic defence of Silistria, but fell in the Crimean War. The Rev. W. Tuckwell, sometimes dubbed 'the Radical Parson,' who frequently examined Warwick School, in his *Winchester Fifty Years Ago*, published in 1893, says the record in his time, just at the beginning of Hill's headmastership, was 1600 lines, said by H. Furneaux, the editor of Tacitus. There is no doubt that 'standing-up' was an admirable method for instilling an intimate knowledge of the classics, and has been the source of not a few apt quotations in debate in the House of Commons.

'The composition every Wednesday and Saturday of some lines of original Latin verse also contributed largely to this result.

'Mr. Hill was a master who could maintain the discipline of the School without undue severity. He strove hard to maintain a high standard of honour amongst the boys. I well recollect an occasion when three or four of us were making a

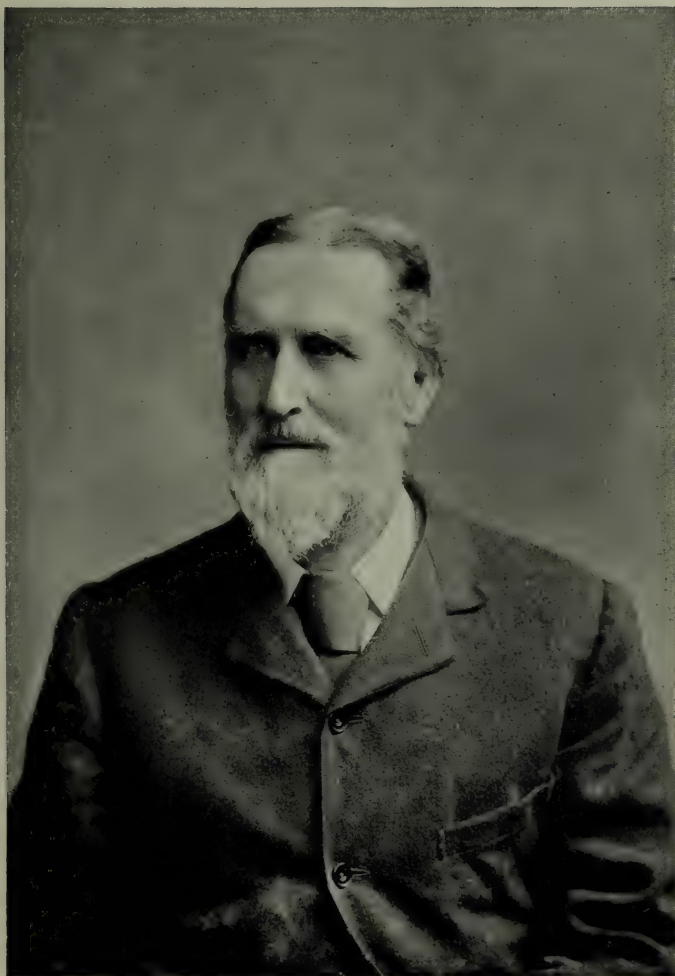
great noise in one of the schoolrooms after morning school, and he came in suddenly, and was satisfied with giving those whom he could catch a stroke with his cane. One boy, however, thought he had escaped through the door without being recognised, and on the opening of afternoon school he was called up before the whole school. Those who stayed and took their punishment had (said Mr. Hill) behaved honourably, but one boy endeavoured to escape, and so had behaved meanly and dishonourably, and must write out 200 lines of Virgil.

‘I remained at the School till 1848. One summer the poet Wordsworth came to stay with Mr. Hill, and we watched with interest his venerable figure as he walked about the garden.

‘The small playground attached to the School, which was originally part of the Deanery (now the Vicarage) was used by us for playing rounders, hockey, and other games, and we played cricket on the Saltisford Common. Mr. Hill used to play cricket with us occasionally, and I recollect that he was a hard hitter, and very genial and pleasant with the boys.’

Mr. A. M. Kennedy, who entered the school in 1843, gives similar testimony. He says that Mr. Hill and Mr. Newman, the second master, were both extremely popular; Mr. Hill especially ‘was a man whom to know was to love.’ ‘The birch,’ he says, was ‘non-existent in my time, and the cane very sparingly used. Virgil and Horace occupied most of my time. There was any amount of learning by heart. I was able to repeat the first and fourth Georgics, the first and sixth *Æneid*, the whole of Horace’s Odes, Epodes, and *Ars Poetica*, and a large amount of the Epistles and Satires. Having spent 38 years of my life as a schoolmaster, I have found this learning by heart of great convenience to me as a classical teacher. We did a considerable amount of Latin verse, one or two copies a week. Euripides, Sophocles, and *Æschylus* occupied most of our time in Greek.’

Mr. Heath was a day-boy. The following recollections of a boarder are contributed by Dr. Samuel Franklin Hiron of Trinity College, Dublin. He comes of an old Warwickshire family at Alcester and Snitterfield, near Stratford-on-Avon, and his father was headmaster of the ancient Grammar School



R. S. HEATH, HEAD OF THE SCHOOL, 1847.
CLERK TO THE GOVERNORS, 1875-1906.

at Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire, of which he himself was a headmaster from 1862 to 1871. From 1872 to 1874 he was Secretary of the Girls' Public Day Schools Company in the early days of that successful promoter of girls' schools, and a member of the Committee of the Women's Educational Union from 1871 to 1876, and for many years an Examiner of the College of Preceptors. He is now rector of Whatlington, near Battle in Sussex.

'I was in the old College in the Butts from August 1845 to November 1847. It was by the advice of a cousin, Thomas Hirons, who practised at Warwick as a medical man for 40 years ending with 1845, that my father sent me to Warwick School. He had migrated to Leamington, where he once told me that he well remembered that early in the 19th century there were only seventeen houses, all situated close to the church and the old Pump Room well!

'I well remember my entrance in 1845. I arrived from a Preparatory School. At first I was without the regulation round jacket and big white collar, and I had an uncomfortable time of it for a bit, till my friends were persuaded to arrange for my being properly equipped.

'The Monthly Fairs in the Butts did not improve the savoury and sanitary conditions of the College, and rendered the Butts an unpleasant avenue from the school into the town.

'There were six Forms, the Sixth being the highest Form, and two Form rooms. In the Lower School were Forms I., II., and III. Forms IV., V. and VI. were in the Upper School. The system of marking was that used at Winchester.

'At the old College, I think, there was little bullying, if any. Fagging was in existence. I fagged for one or two fellows for the first two years, and I have no unpleasant reminiscences to record. The College was, I think, absolutely free from all vice, both in language and in fact: there was a healthy tone about the school.

'Though in some respects not quite up to the standard of this more luxurious age, the food at the College was decidedly above the average of the general standard fifty years ago. The dinners were excellent, the supply plentiful, and the

service good. There were illicit suppers. One of the fags was told off for a week, made every night an expedition to the kitchen, and brought back spoils to the Boarders' Hall for the bigger boys, having a share for himself for his reward.

'I had hardly got into the Upper School when bad health led to my removal from Warwick. My knowledge of Hill as a teacher is therefore very limited, and my experience is almost entirely confined to my knowledge of him in the House. He could be severe, when severity was called for. But my experience of Hill is that he was always very just. I never knew him hasty or inconsiderate. To say that he was revered is no exaggeration.'

We may here interpolate a description of Mrs. Hill, who at this time, probably, was no small attraction to the school as a boarding-school, in a letter from Sara Coleridge to the late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge.¹

'July 1844.

'My brother Derwent brings us an interesting account of her whom your parents knew and liked as Bertha Southey [Mrs. Hill]. The house at Warwick charming: and is fitted up frugally, but with taste. Bertha is now much handsomer as a matron than as a maid, with a Junonian figure, but the reverse of a Junonian port, for she inherits her mother's diffidence as well as her fine form.'

'The French master Tourniere was an excellent example of a foreigner who understood English boys, and could keep order in his Form.

'Of W. S. Newman, the second master, I had a closer knowledge than of any other master. He had his Form well in hand, kept good order without being fussy, and never failed to interest his boys, and to encourage them to work, while freeing us from all sense of being driven. He was of a happy and genial temperament, and never sent us away without having taught us something, and on most occasions much. He had a small printing-press in his own room, and printed the exercises which he regularly gave out to us. He was a

¹ *Life and Correspondence of John Duke Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice of England*, by Ernest Hartley Coleridge. London: Heinemann, 1904. Vol. i. p. 151.

good teacher of arithmetic, and looked over our work with great care. In the summer of 1847, the first result of the examination was that I and another boy came out equal for the arithmetic prize in the Third Form. A second paper was given to us, and worked with a similar result. A third paper had to be given in order to decide between us, and I came out best man, with the narrowest possible excess of marks.

‘Though our intercourse out of school with Newman was limited, it was pleasant. His genial manners and kindliness of heart won upon boys, and he was a general favourite. His nickname was “Billy Goat.”

‘Whatever the powers of old Gwinnett, writing and arithmetic master, as a writing master may have been, his arithmetic was not up to date. It was a relief when W. S. Newman undertook that teaching in the Third Form, and introduced us to Hind’s Arithmetic, which was the text-book in our day. For Colenso, Barnard Smith, etc., were of later date. We were on one occasion puzzled over a sum which we had to do. We were rather afraid that Gwinnett might at last carry out his threat to report us to Hill; the results of which we knew would be serious. Hill refused to let us go up to Gwinnett’s house to ask about the difficulty, and essayed to solve it for us himself. Owing to our being thick-headed, or to Hill’s not being clear in explaining a difficulty rather out of his line, we got no farther forward. What was to be done? At last I was told off to proceed to Gwinnett’s house. The playground gate was locked up for the night—there was no other legitimate outlet. Eventually I was helped up the churchyard wall, managed to scramble to the top, and then dropped down on the other side. I succeeded with Gwinnett, and got back to the college. I found one of the maids talking to somebody at the main entrance. My return was easily accomplished therefore, and I got back into the boarders’ hall in good time and undiscovered.

‘Classics were the chief thing at Warwick in those days. The mathematical subjects were confined to arithmetic, algebra, and Euclid. French (not German) was taught, but held quite a subordinate place. Poetry, repetition of poetry, that is, was required, and heard by Hill. *The Book of Poetry*,

published by Edwards and Hughes, London, was the textbook.

‘Geography lessons were also taken up to Hill, but I cannot say my knowledge of geography acquired at Warwick was extensive or accurate. Watts’s *Scripture History* and Crossman on the *Church Catechism* were text books in my date. Wordsworth’s *Greek Grammar* then, I think, quite new, was used at the College.

‘In the play-ground at the old College the games were “Rounders,” “Prisoners’ base,” “Hockey,” “Tip-cat,” and (I think) “Quoits.”

‘On the Saltisford, where the prison now stands, was the school cricket ground. Our paid instructor was Palethorpe, who took considerable pains and was a good cricketer. Philip Newman, head of the school and brother of W. S. Newman, the second master, and also Hill, the head master, played with the school club on the Saltisford, as also sometimes did the Vicar’s son, George Boudier, who played in the Eton and Cambridge elevens. Football was played there in winter. I remember cricket matches between Leamington College and Warwick. There was a little friction between the schools on one or two occasions. I think we rather looked upon Leamington College as an upstart affair, of only mushroom growth, and we were not perhaps without some feeling that our old Foundation (older it seems than we thought) was rather looked down upon by this (then) new college at Leamington.

‘Paper-chases across country were the fashion in winter.

‘The boarders in my time attended at St. Paul’s on Sunday, but we hankered after St. Mary’s. We used to climb the college wall and watch Mr. Boudier pass from his own precincts to the church in shovel-hat, gown, gaiters, silk stockings, and silver buckles to his shoes. Mr. Boudier was a fine example of the older clergy. Grave, dignified and earnest, he had a daily service when daily services were not much in vogue. He was Vicar of St. Mary’s, Warwick, for no less than 57 years, 1815-1872. From the school playground, too, we watched the lighting up of the illuminated cross at the east window in the chancel of St. Mary’s, and the coloured lights which shone through it. This cross has disappeared. When

was it removed, and why? On Saints' Days we did attend St. Mary's Church. One St. Bartholomew's day, August 24th, 1847, when Hill was ill, and Newman was officiating elsewhere, it was reported to Hill that there had been bad behaviour by some of the boys during the service, and the usual Saint's Day half-holiday was stopped. We rather resented this punishment of the whole school, and dubbed the occasion "The Massacre of Black Bartholomew"!

'I must not omit to mention the "school library." The books were few in number, but well selected. The Waverley Novels were much in request, and the highest place was disputed by hot partisans, some of whom favoured *The Talisman* and others *Ivanhoe*. Another popular book was *The Life of Dr. Arnold of Rugby* by his favourite pupil, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, afterwards Dean of Westminster. But I am afraid that what most attracted us was a letter written by Arnold to Herbert Hill' (the letter already given) 'on Hill's repugnance to mathematics. Other books much sought after were Paget and Gresley's works, which had such a marked effect on the popular mind during the earlier years of the High Church revival.

'Among boys in my time at Warwick School I especially call to mind Baring-Gould.' This was Sabine Baring-Gould, the author of books of all kinds from sermons to novels, and all of them readable, the most noted old Warwick boy of those days. But he writes that he was only there for some months in 1846 when he got whooping-cough, followed by chest delicacy, and was ordered abroad. So no reminiscences are forthcoming from his prolific pen. The following anecdote told of him by Mr. Hiron, which shows that he is still remembered at Warwick, may not be without interest. 'I had made the acquaintance of S. Baring-Gould before I and he came to Warwick. One day in the summer of 1847 Baring-Gould asked me to tea. I got my exeat accordingly and arrived at the well-known house in High Street. Baring-Gould was on the look-out for me, and came to the door with a rather crest-fallen appearance, and said, "I am very sorry, old fellow, but I have made a mistake. I forgot to ask leave at home first, and now I find there are friends there, and I can't have you as I hoped to do." I took the matter pleasantly. But what

was to be done? It was well known that I was going to Baring-Gould's, and I could not face the chaff which would have inevitably greeted me on my going back to tea in the Boarders' Hall, so I went across the bridge to the old Leamington Road, got down to the river, not far from where the new school buildings now are, and wiled away the time till eight o'clock, when I went back to the school. It was late in the "half," and money was scarce or non-existent, and I had had no chance of a meal therefore. When I entered the Boarders' Hall it was with an empty stomach. But nobody knew what had happened, and my sense of dignity was unruffled.

'A striking incident was Arthur Mackenzie's fight in the Butts with Boudier's "tiger." Did two old boys ever meet together in after life without this being one of the first subjects of inquiry? Some years ago I had the question put to me in the entrance hall of the Mansion House in the city of London by an old Warwick boy. I have a perfect recollection of Arthur Mackenzie in the third form. He was a "good fellow," but not good at repeating lines of Ovid. Occasionally at the close of a long summer's afternoon Newman was "caught napping," and something of this sort went on: (Mackenzie loquitur) "*Quod mare non novit*" ("Tell us or I'll lick you"), "*Quae nescit Ariona tellus*" ("I'll lick you if you don't tell me"), "*Carmine currebat*" ("I say, do tell us and I'll treat you"), "*ille*" ("um um, ah"), "*ille tenebat*" ("um um"), "*aquas!*"

'One of my special "chums" as boarders was Montgomery. He and I got into trouble on one occasion. It was early in the "half" and money was fairly plentiful. One Wednesday afternoon we shirked cricket and set off to Milverton Station and Coventry. It was a holiday, and we were soon tired of the ancient city and "Peeping Tom." So we were early at Coventry Station, to wait there for the return train to Leamington. Montgomery remarked, "What a go it would be if either of our 'governors' were to turn up and catch us here." Immediately afterwards the Leamington train came in and set down its passengers. I caught sight of my "governor" there with his usual white hat. We scuttled off as hard as we could and got down close to the pump. We were perfectly

safe there, but the engine backed to take in water. We got in a funk, and hastily plunged on to the platform, where we landed as close as possible to my father.

‘We set back on the homeward journey with rather gloomy spirits. Eventually we were summoned to the dining-room. Hill sat jauntily on the end of the dining-table, with a rather amused look on his face. He told us my father had called on him on his way to Coventry, and asked us where we had been, as I was not there to see him. He never expected that we had been far out of bounds. When we told him the truth he was evidently astonished, and exclaimed, “To Coventry!” For a minute or two he was thoughtful, and then said, “I don’t believe that there is any real harm in you two boys. You thought you would have a lark, and to do so you were disobedient and got out of bounds. But you can’t be allowed to play tricks of that sort with impunity.” He then gave us rather a stiff “imposition” and dismissed us, not a little relieved.

‘On another occasion Burton and I went off to Leamington and hired two cobs and had a ride to Southam and back. A spill on the way, the roads being dirty, made of me rather a pitiable object, and we had to stay at a cottage, where I was hung up to dry, and eventually brushed and cleaned. On our return we went to the Bedford Hotel—now a bank—and ordered chops, etc., in a private sitting-room. When we calculated our resources we were unable to pay the whole of the bill. The landlord was appealed to, and readily let the balance stand over. But we were ushered out of the private sitting-room into the coffee-room. Shortly afterwards a fine young man entered, who proved to be John Mytton, junior. He playfully accosted myself and my friend, who were rather down in the mouth after our little escapade. “What is your name, you fellow?” said John Mytton, junior, to me. Without waiting for an answer he put the same inquiry to my friend. Then he said to me, “I shall call you Edmund Ironsides, and this fellow shall be William Ironsides, your brother.” Then Mytton said, “Do you fellows like oranges?” Of course we liked oranges, and the bell was rung for the waiter. “Bring these fellows a shilling’s worth of oranges each,” was John Mytton, junior’s, order, which was quickly obeyed, and with

some difficulty we stowed the oranges away to take home. Then came another inquiry, still more opportune, "Have you fellows got any money?" We had no hesitation in promptly confessing our absolute freedom from any such encumbrance. Mytton gave us half a sovereign each, and soon left the coffee-room. In high feather we summoned the landlord, paid our shot, hired a cab, and made off for school. We did not know John Mytton, junior; he did not know us. But in a quarter of an hour he had, with kindness of heart doubtless, fooled away 22s. on two strange lads. At the time rumour said that for a wager he had recently ridden his horse up the hotel stairs to the first floor without hurting himself or the horse. A week or two afterwards we caught sight of John Mytton on horseback, and tried, not unnaturally, to attract his attention again, but without success. I never saw him afterwards.'

To return to more serious matters. It may be remarked that Hill's interest in the boys did not stop with their leaving school, as the following letters to Mr. Heath, when he had gone to University College, London, show. The almost childish dread of the ungodly college, as it was considered by the churchmen of those days, even of Arnold's school, may provoke a smile. But the care shown for the moral and intellectual welfare of the ex-pupil witnesses that Hill shared with Arnold of Rugby, and had indeed drawn from the same source, Dr. Goddard of Winchester, the interest in and solicitude for their scholars, which was probably more intense and more keenly felt when confined to the narrower circle and smaller number of those days.

'THE COLLEGE, WARWICK,

'Oct. 31st [1848].

'MY DEAR HEATH,—. . . I naturally feel a great interest in your welfare, and I am unwilling to lose sight entirely of your progress. . . . Tell me what courses of lectures you have to attend, and what you think of the kind of instruction you find there. I hope the professors will consider that you know enough of such books as those we read, and will put you at once into subjects as yet new to you, such as the historians or philosophers, and Greek plays.

‘There is another subject upon which I must venture to say something to you, although I fear it trenches upon delicate ground. The university or college to which you are attached has the reputation of being established upon the principle of purely secular instruction, religious instruction being entirely omitted. I conceive, therefore, that if any lectures on religious subjects are given, the attendance must be entirely voluntary, and that probably such lectures, if any, will consist only of explanatory comments of the text of Scripture. And, moreover, I suppose that the surveillance over the character, conduct, etc., of the young men, must be of the slightest possible kind.

‘Now, my dear Heath, I am not going to write an invective against this system . . . but I wish you to have your eyes open to the position in which you find yourself—afloat in what is a complete new world, free from the restraints of home and your home circle, and, what is worst of all, in an irreligious atmosphere. Probably very few of the young men attending the same lectures with you even profess the same form of religion, I mean the Church of England? . . . I am not very fearful of your falling into the excesses which weak and silly, or wild and ungoverned minds, are liable to in such a place as London; . . . but you being (as I take it) obliged to be entirely dependent on yourself, under God’s protection and guidance, ought carefully to lay down some simple rules for the support and strengthening of your spiritual and religious nature, and to be constant in acting up to them.’ [He then recommends reading the Greek Testament, studying commentators, and so forth, as well as observing Sunday and going to church, and concludes]: ‘I shall be glad to hear from you. . . . I do not suppose you are like an acquaintance of mine whom I once heard say, “Any man who pretends to give me good advice, I consider an enemy at once.” If you are, the only consequence is, that you will certainly have no more of it.—Believe me your sincere friend,

‘HERBERT HILL.’

A month later, 26 November, Hill wrote again:—

‘I have heard from your Greek professor, Mr. Malden, and took the opportunity of mentioning that you had been my pupil, and that I thought you had “both the inclination and the power to study,” so you must not be surprised if you find him inclined to lay heavier burdens on your shoulders, or at least to

expect you to carry with a good grace those which he does lay on. Mr. Francis Newman is a person of whom I have heard a good deal at different times since I first went to Oxford, when he was in great repute as a private tutor in mathematics. I take him to be a man of a most acute mind. His system of pronunciation is probably better than what is ordinarily practised in this country, because all other nations, especially all those whose languages are derived from Latin, vote against us. But I am not inclined to suppose that we can attain a certain correctness : we know that our own language alters in sound very much in a course of comparatively few years, therefore we may fairly argue that the modern Italians are not likely to know anything very certainly about the matter. Among Henry VIII.'s¹ acts of despotism, a curious one was an order sent to Cambridge concerning the right mode of pronouncing Greek.

‘I was much gratified by your note, and I see that you have taken in the point which I wished to impress upon you, viz., that in the highest things of all you are left entirely to your own disposal and responsibility, unaided by tutors and governors, pastors and masters.’

A rather remarkable proof of the estimation in which Hill was held was evinced when in 1856 a burglar stole his plate. It was replaced by subscription amongst parents and friends. Hill returned thanks in Latin verse, which even in a day which cares for none of such things, may bear reproduction.

MNEMOSYNON.

Argenteas res abstulerat latro meas ;
 Hoc damnum amici damno reparantes suo
 Plures mihi dant quam quas opes amiseram.
 Lubens amicis gratias ago maximas ;
 Furi animo gratias habeo, sed non ago.
 Dono allatis empta sunt pecuniis
 Quaecunque cristam et hanc gerunt anni notam.

H. H., Varvici. MDCCCLIX.

In his later days the same lassitude for a thankless task which had overtaken his predecessor overtook Hill. The

¹ It was not the King, but Gardiner, the reactionary bishop of Winchester, who, as Chancellor of the University, made the order.

present Warden of New College, the Rev. W. A. Spooner, says that when he examined the school in 1866, he found Mr. Hill 'much the gentleman and scholar; loving, gentle, refined, but sadly depressed.' Partly it was, no doubt, through the hard struggle on a house of only thirty boys, paying low fees; but this was aggravated by domestic misfortune in the ill health of several of his large family. At last, like his predecessor Innes, he gave up boarders. No doubt, he ought then to have given up the school. Some eminent schoolmasters have maintained that no headmaster, however successful, should stay in the same school more than twenty, some say more than fifteen, years. It is impossible to lay down any general rule of this sort. One man is as full of vigour and initiative at sixty-five as another is at fifty. But the Chancery Scheme had made no provision for a pension, and rich as the charity had become, had limited its contribution to the school to £310 a year.

So a disheartened and prematurely aged man had to stay on and struggle with a narrow income, and premises growing yearly more and more out of date, and at an increasing disadvantage in point of accommodation compared with other schools.

CHAPTER XII

MOVEMENTS FOR REFORM

SOME people in Warwick, and particularly that patriotic 'old boy,' Mr. R. C. Heath, were anxious to do something for the improvement of the school by enlarging its resources. In 1854, the year after the first establishment of the Charity Commissioners, they asked them for an inquiry with a view to appropriating the unused balances of Sir Thomas White's charity to education. This charity, which in many towns has proved a great boon to secondary education, has at Warwick been a boon so great that it almost entitles its founder to be regarded as a second founder of the Grammar School. No such idea was, however, in the mind of the founder at that time. Thomas White was a Reading boy who, at the age of twelve, was apprenticed as a merchant tailor in London, and amassed a fortune as a cloth maker, trading in cloth all over England.¹ In July 1542, before the dissolution of Warwick College, 'for the love he did bear to the citty and citizens of Coventry,' he gave the corporation of that town £1400 to buy lands of the monasteries then lately dissolved, from King Henry VIII. Lands situate in Coventry itself and the neighbourhood were accordingly bought and duly granted to the corporation by letters patent of 19 July, 34 Henry VIII., *i.e.* 1542. By deed of 6 July, Edward VI., 1551,² trusts were declared of these lands, then worth £70 a year, for various forms of charity in Coventry, until thirty years after White's death, when £40 a year was to be paid to the corporations of Northampton, Leicester, Nottingham, and Warwick, in rotation, for four young men setting up in business, to have the use of the

¹ *Early History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, by C. M. Clode, ii. 99 *seq.*

² Wrongly given in C. C. R., xxviii. 172, as 1552.

money for nine years without interest. When the income grew, Coventry tried to keep the increased rents for itself, but after long disputes and suits in Chancery, it was decreed in 1703 that four-sevenths of the whole income was applicable to the five towns in rotation for loans to tradesmen, then fixed at £50. In 1810 the sum received by Warwick had risen to £706, and in 1820 to £1136. But by this time the loans had ceased to be much sought after, and large balances accumulated in the hands of the corporation. The Charity Commissioners' inquiry in 1854 led to nothing. The commissioners had not then been given the power of making schemes for charities, but only of certifying cases to the Courts to do so. In 1860, scheme-making powers were conferred on the commissioners, and Henry VIII.'s charities and White's soon became the subject of applications to them. The vicar of All Saints Church, built in 1859, and which, in 1861, had been made an ecclesiastical district, wanted a slice carved in his favour. The vicar and churchwardens of St. Mary's asked for £150 a year more towards the expenses of services. With more reason the Rev. John Montague, the second master, asked for an increase of his salary of £100 a year, which was, he pointed out, without a house, wholly insufficient for the maintenance of an M.A. of the University, and he suggested that there was £17,000 of Sir Thomas White's charity lying idle, which would provide the means. The town council opposed the suggested extension of the objects of the charities to new ecclesiastical purposes, and it was also alleged that there was no surplus to meet them, the increased expense on the school under the scheme of 1845 having swallowed up the whole £500 a year increment which had taken place in the income. In view of the conflict of interests, this agitation proved abortive.

Seven years later the great educational movement which signalled the latter half of the last century, and culminated in the Public Schools Act, 1867; the Endowed Schools Act, 1869; and the Elementary Education Act, 1870, produced many governmental inquiries and reports.

Warwick School fell under the purview of the body commonly known as the Schools Inquiry Commission, appointed 28 December 1864 'to inquire into the education given in'

the grammar or endowed schools, excluding the nine largest, which had already been included in the 'Public Schools Commission.' The Commission conducted its inquiries by means of twelve assistant-commissioners, who visited all the grammar schools in 1865-1866.

Warwickshire schools fell to the lot of Mr. T. H. Green¹ of Balliol, the Mr. Grey of Mrs. Humphry Ward's novel, *Robert Elsmere*. He was a curious person to choose for such a purpose, as he was a dreamy metaphysician of the most misty school, the involutions of whose views were only equalled by the involutions of body and face with which they were delivered to puzzled undergraduates.

In Warwick Grammar School Mr. Green found 44 boys, all but four being day-boys, divided into three distinct groups—classical, semi-classical, and English. There were 12 boys in each of the upper groups, and 20 in the lower. Each "group" was subdivided into classes. The 12 boys in the classical group were split up into no less than five classes, an average of $2\frac{2}{5}$ of a boy to each class. The reporter's style is so involved that it is often hard to make out what he means. He says the oldest boy, who was waiting for an exhibition to go to Brasenose College, Oxford, 'was taught by himself. He did the Agamemnon and Lucretius and had entered upon trigonometry.' Careful study shows that this was not a remarkable instance of self-culture, but that the boy who occupied the sixth form in monarchical isolation received the undivided attention of the headmaster. The Classical group alone did any Mathematics beyond arithmetic. They were well advanced in both classics and mathematics. They also learnt French, but as the French had to be taught in the same room with another class under the second master 'teaching other things' in 'a general clatter, very annoying to both masters, especially on winter afternoons' (why 'especially'?) 'the French lesson is very much thrown away.'

The exhibitioners from the school at Oxford had mostly done well. In the ten years previous to 1864 two first classes at Oxford were included amongst its list of honours. The only defect which the assistant-commissioner found as regards the

¹ Schools Inquiry Commission Report, 1868, xv. 746.

classical group was one it shared with the British army, that there was so little of it.

The second group was divided into only two classes of six boys each, and was distinguished by learning Latin, but not Greek. They did arithmetic 'very fairly,' though they 'were not far advanced,' and 'satisfactorily in English Grammar and Analysis. They showed some want of readiness in the latter subject, due probably to the fact that it is not regularly taught, which seems a pity.'

As to what the third group of 'English' boys learnt, the reporter leaves us in unrelieved obscurity.

The reform proposed by Mr. Green consisted in the establishment of a 'high' school above the Grammar School, and a preparatory school below it—a preposterous proposal for a town of under 10,000 population, which under any circumstances could not provide enough boys for one really strong and efficient grammar school. More to the purpose were his recommendations for the improvement of the buildings and of the endowment. 'The town,' he said, 'is burdened with poor for whom there is no regular employment, and some of them are said to boast that what with charities, elections, and assizes (where they act as javelin-men), they have got along without doing a stroke of work for many years.' So he urged the appropriation to education of a larger share of King Henry VIII.'s charity, 'producing about £3000 a year, which, after deduction of £400 a year for the Grammar School, is spent for purposes elsewhere met by rates,' and of White's charity for loans to tradesmen, pointing out that 'while £8000 is out on loan, more than £18,000 is accumulated. It is a general opinion in the place that this money should be applied to education; and it is generally admitted that the money spent on doles and gratuities is at present simply mischievous.' He referred to the movement started in 1854. 'But nothing has been done. Every one seems to have been waiting for every one else. What is wanted here, as in similar circumstances elsewhere, is an initiative from without.'

The visit of the assistant-commissioner gave the required 'initiative from without.' On 29 January 1867 a Committee of the Trustees of Henry VIII.'s charity was appointed to pre-

pare a scheme. Their report was presented and adopted unanimously by the Trustees on 14 August, and by the Town Council on 21 August, 1867. Unfortunately this committee was intent on what it called 'commercial education'—though no one has ever defined what commercial education is, or succeeded in suggesting any subjects, different from those ordinarily taught in secondary schools, which make commercial education. They therefore rejected the idea of one good school which, if given adequate site, buildings, and endowments, would have met all the requirements of the borough and district for all classes; and recommended two schools, a classical school, with, for model, Uppingham, then being developed by Edward Thring from a country grammar school into a 'non-local Public School,' but with boarding fees at the absurdly low rate for such a school of £30 to £35 a year; and a commercial school 'entirely distinct.' The committee wisely avoided saying what the difference in the instruction was to be. 'It appears unnecessary to go into the details at the present time of the various branches of knowledge of which such an education would consist. Your committee believe that their meaning will be sufficiently understood for the present purpose.' They recommended the provision of 'excellent buildings' for the Grammar School; and the application of the whole accumulated balances of £18,500 from Sir T. White's charity for this purpose. But as to other charities, the Committee were 'not at present prepared to report that assistance can be obtained from any of these charities.'

The Charity Commission were asked to frame a scheme on this basis. They thought it necessary to hold another inquiry by their inspector, Mr. Walter Skirrow. This took place on 15 and 16 July 1868. The week before, on 7 July, a public meeting passed resolutions for the amalgamation of the endowments of the King's School and Sir Thomas White's charity, and appointed a committee, which reported in favour of applying a whole string of charities for doles in money or in bread and for apprenticeship, to the support of the School.

At the inquiry Mr. Hill wisely recanted the opinion he had given in favour of two schools, on the ground that it was impossible to find two really good sites, and recommended rather

one school divided into classical and modern 'sides.' He also suggested the 'hostel system,' which had been adopted with great success by Mr. Grignon at Felsted; under which the foundation, and not the headmaster, carries off the bulk of the profits on boarders, while the expense to the parents is considerably reduced. Rossall School has enlarged and endowed itself with fine buildings and splendid grounds entirely out of the profits accruing to the foundation on the hostel system.

The effect of the public discussions on the report of the Schools Inquiry Commission and the anticipated revolution, involving Mr. Hill's retirement, had produced somewhat disastrous results on the school. The numbers had fallen to 28 boys, 24 from Warwick paying 4 guineas a year, 3 from outside paying 10 guineas a year, and one boarder, a nephew of the headmaster.

Mr. Skirrow's inquiry was unproductive, in view of the proposed Endowed Schools Act, for transferring to a new commission the powers of the Charity Commission for making schemes for schools. This Act, giving widely increased powers to the new Commission, was brought in and passed on 1 August 1869. The trustees of Henry VIII.'s charity lost no time. On 25 September they gave the Endowed Schools Commissioners notice that they would submit a scheme under its provisions. But as the Commission informed them that it was unable to give immediate attention to Warwick, it was not until 20 January 1872 that the trustees sent up a draft scheme, containing the main features of the scheme eventually passed.

On receipt of it the Commissioners thought it necessary to start with a new inquiry, the third in five years, by a new assistant-commissioner—this time Mr. C. H. Stanton, an old Rugbeian and Balliol man.

When Mr. Stanton visited the school, in March 1872, he found under Mr. Hill 54 boys, all day-boys, a number as large as there had ever been in the school; and, it may be added, as large as the number of day-boys has ever been in the splendid buildings of the reformed school. They were receiving, it was admitted, a first-rate education, a sufficient proof that the previous fall in numbers had not been due to any failure

in Mr. Hill, but simply to the aversion of parents to send their boys to a school which was in the melting-pot. Nevertheless, Mr. Stanton found that it was an accepted axiom in the town that the new order of things to be created by scheme should be started under a new head, and that Mr. Hill should be retired.

The scheme, as published by the Commissioners on 18 January 1873, provided for three schools: a Grammar School for 250 boys, including 70 boarders; a Middle School for 100 boys; a Girls' School for 80 girls.

The Grammar School was to be what was called 'second grade,' that is, for boys of 8 to 17 years of age. The usual subjects, languages, including Latin, mathematics, and science, were to be taught, for tuition fees of £6 to £12 a year; but to prevent its being too classical a school, it was provided that 'Greek shall not form a part of the prescribed course of instruction, but may be taught as an extra at not less than £3 a year.' The boarding fee, apart from tuition, was fixed at £35 a year. The Fulke Weale exhibitions, £50 a year, were to be attached to it, but were limited, in the first instance, to residents in Warwick, and in the second to inhabitants of Warwickshire. £10,000 was allotted for new buildings, and £800 a year for maintenance.

The Middle School was to be what was called 'third grade,' or what we should now call 'higher elementary.' The upward limit of age was to be 15, and the fees £2 to £4 a year. Latin or French, not both, were to be taught; Greek, of course, excluded. It was to be a day-school only. £2000 was assigned for new buildings, and £300 a year for maintenance.

The Girls' School was also to be 'third grade,' at the same fees as the Middle School, but to take girls up to 16 years.

There were twelve subsidiary schemes, four making the Fulke Weale, Sarah Greville's, and Lord Brooke's educational charities, together with Thomas Busby's, Richard Edgeworth's, and Robert Heath's charities, now declared by their governing bodies applicable to education, part of the King's School; others taking £200 a year from Oken's charity, £23,500 from Sir Thomas White's charity, £150 a year from Anne Johnson's charity, £100 from Griffin's charity, and £2 a year from

Thomas Wheatley's charity, and making them part of the School Foundation under the same governing body.

There was little or no difference of opinion as to any of the main provisions. Nearly everybody in Warwick wanted the Grammar School to be 'first grade,' the leaving age to be raised to 18, so that boys might go straight to the university with a Fulke Weale exhibition, and the boarding fees to be raised to £40 or £42. Everybody wanted Warwick children to pay less than outsiders. The trustees wanted, and others did not want, Greek included without extra fee.

The most pertinent objections were those formulated by Mr. Hill. He pointed out that it was absurd to build for 190 day-boys, especially if there was to be a 'Middle School' besides the Grammar School, which would inevitably undersell the Grammar School among the townspeople, while the boarding fee of £35 a year was far too low with the number of boarders contemplated. He prophesied that 50 would be an extreme limit to the number of day-boys, and his prophecy has been hitherto justified by the result.

In large towns, he argued, there was room for two secondary schools without overlapping, and without interfering with each other's development. In a place of the size of Warwick, or in any place under 30,000 or 40,000, there is not room. At Warwick, at the time the scheme was made, the difficulty was aggravated by the existence of Leamington College, which took off a large number of the boys who would naturally have gone to Warwick if at the time of the growth of Leamington it had been fitted to receive them. But the short-sighted, dog-in-the-manger policy of differential fees against 'outsiders,' and the absence of adequate buildings and recreation grounds, had entirely prevented this. Now that Leamington College has ceased to exist, it is possible that Warwick School, especially if it opens its governing body to representatives from Leamington, may get a large enough contingent of day-boys to rank with the (so-called) Colleges of Cheltenham and Clifton.

Had these been all the points raised on the draft scheme, the Endowed Schools Commissioners would have had little difficulty. Unfortunately deadly hostilities broke out on the

constitution of the governing body. The scheme proposed a governing body of nineteen: the Earl, Mayor, and Recorder of Warwick, *ex-officio*; six governors named by White's charity Trustees, one each by the Trustees of Oken's, Griffin's, and Anne Johnson's charity, and three by the town council, while five persons, including Kelynge Greenway, the leading banker, and Thomas Lloyd, the owner of the Priory, were named as co-optative governors.

It was urged that the school would perish if it were not built on the pillars of the Church and classics, and that, if the trustees of Sir Thomas White's charity were given a majority on the governing body, the school would be given over to irreligion, and (which was apparently regarded as the same thing) that there would be no security that the headmaster would not be a Nonconformist. It is not in these days easy to realise how it came to be regarded as the end of all things if the headmaster of a public school, supported from public funds, should be a Nonconformist. As for Sir Thomas White's trustees, the leading one was Mr. Robert Heath, to whom Mr. Hill had written the letters quoted above. In vain was it replied that of White's charity trustees only two were Dissenters, many were Tories, and all were among the most substantial and respected inhabitants of the borough. The simple fact remained that Mr. R. C. Heath had been the Liberal agent at the last parliamentary election. In vain, too, was it pointed out that even if all Sir Thomas White's trustees were radicals and dissenters, they were only given the appointment of six out of 19 governors. The objecting party had lately established a majority on the town council, and so the sacred principle of representative government was invoked for the transfer of the six places proposed to be given to White's trustees to themselves.

This fierce opposition fairly frightened the Commissioners, and the case was hung up till April 1874, when the Town Council withdrew their opposition. Lord Warwick was not to be persuaded. After six months' more negotiation he withdrew Anne Johnson's charity from the scheme, and refused his consent to the inclusion of Lord Brooke's charity.

A new Government had meanwhile come in and passed an

Act for the abolition of the Endowed Schools Commission, and the transfer of its powers to the Charity Commission. On 22 December 1874, only nine days before their powers ceased, the expiring Commission submitted the Warwick scheme to the Committee of Council on Education. When republished by the committee, in February 1875, the town council renewed their opposition, on the allegation that Anne Johnson's charity had been struck out from the scheme against the wishes of its trustees. Hence more delay, till it was discovered that the chief trustee, Lord Warwick, had himself insisted on it. At last, in May, the scheme was approved by the Lord President of the Council, and finally became law, by the approval of Queen Victoria in Council, on 5 August 1875.

The delay of three years in the establishment of a scheme which every one had admitted for years was greatly needed did not reflect great credit on the wisdom of its opponents. The chief alterations in the scheme as passed, from that originally published, were the addition of the Lord-Lieutenant of Warwickshire to the *ex-officio* governors, which no one objected to, and the elimination of Anne Johnson's charity which Lord Warwick himself was afterwards the first to restore to it.

CHAPTER XIII

A NEW START

THE governors under the new scheme lost no time in getting to work. Their first meeting was held on 26 November 1875 under the presidency of the mayor, Mr. G. H. Nelson. The Earl of Warwick was elected chairman, and Mr. Hill was asked to carry on the school till Easter 1876, with the Rev. F. Case as second master. New sites for the school were considered, a site by St. John's Hospital being the favourite, but it was found that only six acres of land could be obtained, and a hundred commoners would have to be dealt with as to their rights of common. So on 26 January 1876 the present site was chosen. The land on which it is built formed part of the land belonging to Henry VIII.'s charity, and was apparently part of the hide of land in Myton which Domesday-book records as endowment of St. Mary's Church.

Mr. A. E. Bowen, who went to the school in August 1874, which was Mr. Hill's last year, records that the school was then carried on in two departments—classical and modern. The latter was carried on in the house in Southgate now occupied by the Girls' School, under F. Case, with an 'old boy,' W. Rainbow, for his second master. The classical side, which consisted of precisely 19 boys, of whom the senior was William Modlen who won a scholarship at Worcester College, Oxford, was carried on in the old premises by Mr. Hill, with Mr. A. A. Corfe as second master. Mr. Bowen records an interesting old ceremony:—

'When the clock in St. Mary's Tower had struck nine, the headmaster, a tall, white-haired, and pathetically reverend-looking old man, came to the end of the school porch or vestibule, and, without a word or a smile, struck the door four

or five hard blows with his cane, and then went back to his own room; the boys trooped in; he read prayers and called the roll, to which those present answered "Here!" This was the mode of opening school every morning.

'Another ceremony which prevailed as long as the school stayed in the old college, was that of christening new boys. On the north side of the playground was the fountain, a tap over a small iron basin supported by a structure of blue bricks. Here new boys were soused with water and nicknames bestowed.

'The schoolroom walls were bare but for a liberal allowance of whitewash; with which the impulsive genius of some budding artist would occasionally illustrate an event of the day. On one occasion there was a vivid sketch in charcoal or pencil of one Jeremiah Corkery, a youth of 17, who was hanged in Warwick Gaol about this time. Mr. Hill between classes used to walk up and down the room, apparently in deep thought and taking little notice of anything; but when, as sometimes happened, he caught sight of these mural illustrations, he would express his contemptuous indignation by a series of hisses of a most expressive kind. School-hours were 9-12 and 2-5 in summer, and 2 till dark in winter, as there was no gas in the school. The "bobdogs" kept us fairly hard. "Bobdog" was the name given to the boys attending the Bablake Charity School, held in the Chapel of St. Peter over the Eastgate of the town.' There seems to be no evidence why this school, which was founded out of Oken's and Lady Greville's charities, was called the Bablake School; but it seems certain that the name was due to transference from the much larger and more ancient Blue Coat School at Coventry, the Bablake Hospital, a smaller Christ's Hospital. 'The costume of the boys attending the school consisted of a cap and coat of a shape similar to that worn by the Beefeaters, with knee-breeches and stockings. As their costume was old-fashioned, so were their manners. The few college boys who had to pass the Bobdogs School door daily on their way had an experience that must have hardened them for the rough-and-tumble of after-life. The story of how a boy in the junior room fought and beat the chosen representative of the National

Schools, after six rounds, fought in different parts of the town, was a school topic for some time.

‘A pleasing reminder of the connection of the school with the town authorities was that on 9 November the town crier came to the school in his scarlet coat and three-cornered hat and battered at the door, and upon its being opened, he used to deliver himself, “The Mayor’s compliments to the Headmaster, and may the boys have a whole (wull, he called it), holiday?” This was always granted, and the crier remained in the playground until a collection had been made for him.’ This custom survives in the new site.

‘Mr. A. A. Corfe ceased to be the second master about midsummer 1875, and was succeeded by Mr. J. Archibald Brown, a Balliol man formerly at Leamington College. He was a very popular, kind-hearted man. He suffered from heart disease to such an extent, that occasionally he would, in the middle of school-work, be quite incapacitated. He was physically broad and was so likewise in his treatment of the boys. On one occasion a fierce fight took place in the playground within a few yards of him. After it was finished, he smilingly put his arm round the neck of the victor and said, “My little man, what was it all about?” The answer was, “He hit my little brother and I gave him a licking.” Brown said very seriously, “Quite right, but it mustn’t occur again.”

‘Games were at a very low ebb at this time. There was no school cricket club. Football was practically unknown. There was but one football match played; it took place on the Common with a school from Leamington.

‘During the summer of 1875 the county ground became available for cricket, and several matches were played, including one with Allesley Grammar School, and one with a school at Leamington kept by Mr. Hawley. A. Warner was captain of the school eleven that year, but the distance of the ground from the town was much against regular practice for those who lived on the far side of the town.

‘School games were practically confined to the playground attached to the school. This was about 60 yards long by 30 wide. Here were played hockey and fives, the hockey goals

being chalk lines on the walls at either end. Other games, not of a now recognised order, were popular. They included "tournaments,"¹ a game in which two pairs of boys, one riding on the back of the other, tried to charge each other and pull the adverse rider down. "One, two, three," was another popular game. The two ends of the ground were lined off as sanctuaries, and one boy would take the middle ground, and catch any one running across from the one sanctuary to the other, and if the catcher could hold his man while he said "One, two, three and a man for me, and a man to help me catch," the captive had to stay in the middle and help him. This continued until all were caught but one, and the last had to run through three times, and if he could do that without being held, he was free and looked upon as the winner. This game was splendid practice in collaring; it was a moderately rough game, and occasionally resulted in heavy falls with necessarily some slight hurts.

"Stag a warning" was a somewhat similar game, only played with one boy with hands clasped in front. Prisoners' base was also popular. Though without facilities for systematic cricket and football, boys still managed to keep their wind good and to harden their muscles.

Mr. Hill left at Easter 1876, when the past boys of the school raised and presented him with a testimonial of over £1000; while the 'present' boys of that day gave him the *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, by his fellow-Wykehamist Dean Hook. In 1880 he was most appropriately presented to the dignified sinecure of the mastership of the Leicester Hospital, so closely connected in the past with the history of the school. His retirement was gladdened by the sight of the prosperous new development of the old school. He died at the ripe age of 81 on 21 November 1892, and lies buried in Warwick Cemetery.

The Reverend William Fisher Macmichael, who on 17 February had been elected headmaster, began work in the summer term of 1876. He had been at Downing College, Cambridge, where he rowed in the University boat.

¹ Cf. Strutt in his *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* under HIPPAS.

He is described as 'a man of commanding presence, standing over six feet high, a typical North-country man, with brown hair and beard, a fine forehead, and large blue eyes.' Robust and vigorous himself, he seems to have been somewhat too robust in his treatment of the boys, a contrast with the gentleness of Mr. Hill, whose fiercest resource was to call the boys 'Bœotians.' One of the first two, afterwards increased to four, boarders under Mr. Macmichael records that 'one of his weaknesses seemed to be a liking to grab one by the hair and wag one's head to and fro, finishing this off with a vigorous slap on the side of the head—an exceedingly unpleasant operation for the victim.'

The headmaster was a bachelor, and lived with his mother and sister. The former 'was a fine old lady, believed by the boys to be a direct descendant of the Iron Duke of Wellington, a belief supported by her high, arched nose and features. The sister was an exceedingly jolly girl, and well in with the boys, in so far that she often joined us in our walks or excursions, and was known to go on occasion straight into the centre of a brook after moorhen's eggs, much to her brother's pupils' surprise but ultimate admiration.'

Somehow or other Mr. Macmichael did not succeed. He was considered extremely high-church when high-churchism had not become so fashionable as it did later. On 6 December 1876 a motion was made on the governing body to ask him to explain his having given twelve boys at Cheltenham a book called the *Altar Manual*, which had been publicly censured in the *Cheltenham Chronicle* by the Reverend H. Kynaston. The motion was, of course, rejected, by 11 to 4, as it had nothing to do with Mr. Macmichael's conduct as headmaster of Warwick. But the notoriety given to the matter did not conduce to the prosperity of the school under him.

At Easter 1878 there were only forty-four boys in the school, when seven letters of complaint were sent to the governors on which the headmaster's answer was requested. His answers were on a division pronounced satisfactory by the governors.

In October 1878 a question arose as to preparation of day-boys for confirmation, when the vicar left the governors'

meeting because his motion to express no opinion was not seconded. But in March next year a letter was received from the Bishop of Worcester saying that preparation for confirmation was the business of the minister, *i.e.* the vicar, not the master.

The opening of the new buildings of the school on the Myton Road took place on 1 August 1879 with great flourishing of trumpets, Lord Leigh, Lord-Lieutenant of the county, presiding, and Lord Brooke giving away the prizes. An old bell from the Eastgate Chapel, inscribed 'ex dono Fulk Weale, gen. 1730,' was appropriately transferred to the new buildings. This and some of the oak beams from the old school, used to make a pig-sty for the headmaster's pigs in the new school, seem to be the only relics of old times that were transported to the new site. Poetic considerations of how 'the descendants of the wild pigs, that roamed beneath these old oaks in the forest of Arden, lie down, perhaps, beneath the shelter of the very trees that sheltered and fed their forefathers, while the beams which for years listened to the learned and godly discourse of the dwellers in the college now hear only the swine swilling out of the swine trough,' hardly reconcile us to the entire neglect to preserve any more palpable connection with the history of the old school. Nor can any relics now be recovered. For in June 1880 the governors sold the old college for the paltry sum of £1800. The building was pulled down, and its beautiful panelling with carved pomegranates, 'traditionally' (but almost certainly without any real ground) supposed to be erected in the time of Henry VIII. to commemorate the conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella, parents of his wife, Catherine of Aragon, which surely might have been spared to adorn the bare walls of the new hall, or the chapel at the new school, was scattered abroad. Nothing of the college now remains but the old wall which still surrounds the vacant site, which was last year, 1905, purchased by the present vicar of St. Mary's, the Reverend Thurstan Rivington, with a view to its preservation.

The school buildings form a striking object in the landscape to any one coming down the steep hill on which Warwick is

built to the great bridge over the Avon. The school fronts the river, about 100 yards from which it stands on a rising plateau some 30 feet above it, well out of reach of damp and mists. It looks across the large open S. Nicholas meadow which bounds the river on the other side, directly towards the picturesque old house which marks the site, and contains some fragments, of the old Hospital of S. John. To the right lies the leafy road that leads to Leamington. Milton has exactly described the western view :

‘Towers and battlements it sees
Bosomed high in tufted trees,
Where, perhaps, some beauty lies,
The cynosure of neighbouring eyes.’

What Windsor Castle with its Park is to Eton College, that Warwick Castle with its Park is to Warwick School.

The school buildings form an imposing pile in a rococo Tudor style.

The plan is that of a central tower with a high roof of the French type, flanked by and recessed between two smaller tower-like structures with bay windows, and somewhat similar high-pitched roofs, which join on to the main roof of the building. East and west of them are two wings of lesser height, while at the extreme west is the headmaster's house fronting towards the castle, and at the extreme east is the chapel, connected with the main building only by a short corridor.

In the west tower on the first floor is the house-room or living-room during the day of A ‘house,’ and on the same floor above the dining-hall is A dormitory or house: B dormitory is on the second floor above A, but also occupying part of the west tower, while its house-room is on the ground-floor of the east tower. C house occupies the first floor of the east tower for its day-room, and the second floor of the east tower and the east wing for its dormitory.

The class-rooms are mostly on the ground-floor, and the masters' rooms are near their respective ‘houses.’

The back of the buildings is severe in its simplicity, and derives what architectural effect it possesses from the arrange-



THE CRICKET GROUND,

ment of the wings and the steep roofs of the main buildings. The architect evidently did not recognise that the most important view of a school, and that from which it is longest and most often seen, is that from its playing fields, or he would not have lavished all the architectural features of large windows and symmetrical roofs on the road front, and left the hinder parts unadorned and somewhat haphazard in arrangement.

The playing fields are no small feature of the school. They look as if they were laid out as a smooth and verdant preface to an illimitable vista of pasture interspersed with so many fine elms and other trees in the fields and in the hedgerows as to give the idea of a vast park, or of a stretch of the ancient and romantic glades of the Forest of Arden itself, on the gentle slopes of which we might expect at any moment to meet Rosalind and Celia or the melancholy Jaques himself. A finer site or a statelier home no school need wish for itself, and its surroundings are not threatened by encroaching brick heaps or ruined by railway junctions and the spread of modern industries. But the youthful population of the place take more delight in the prosaic fact that they enjoy the best playing fields of any school in the Midlands next to Rugby, and one of the best cricket grounds in the county.

The new buildings did not at first bring any accretion to the school. On the contrary, the introduction of a matron seems to have aggravated the disquiet felt. She is described as 'a really splendid woman, tho' severely devout. She was a sort of sister of mercy, and her influence assisted, no doubt, in the inception of a higher church movement of the headmaster's.' Murmurs were rife, and on 2 June 1880 Mr. Macmichael gave notice of resignation at Christmas. He retired to a living, and is now vicar of Lee, South Devon.

CHAPTER XIV

THE REMAKING OF THE SCHOOL

ON 27 September 1880 the Reverend William Grundy was elected headmaster out of a large field, and on 21 December made his declaration on taking office. Mr. Grundy was one of those fountains of energy and ability who are successful in whatever they undertake. Born in 1850, he was at school at Rossall, whence he won a scholarship at Worcester College, Oxford, where in 1872 he obtained a first class in Moderations, and in 1872 a second class in the Final Schools in Classics. Next year he became a Fellow of Worcester. In 1878 he went back to Rossall as fifth form master. He only remained there two years before election to Warwick. His keenest interest really lay in philosophy, and he wrote the second part of 'Aristotelianism' in a series on the 'Chief Ancient Philosophies.'

'He was a man of powerful physique, under the middle size, but thick-set and broad-chested; his face was clear cut, with high cheek bones, and somewhat stern; he had reddish, sandy hair and whiskers, with deep-set, piercing blue eyes. He always wore low collars and a small white tie,' the assumption of which, he told one of his colleagues, 'somewhat surprised his friends, considering the views he held,' and it was probably assumed rather for scholastic than ecclesiastical or theological reasons. His sermons to the boys were rather moral than theological, but are remembered as forceful and impressive.

Mr. Norman Lane, now a mechanical engineer and contractor in Birmingham, gives a high estimate of him:—

'He was feared and respected by all his boys. He was "the Head" in all his actions. But he had the happy knack of making his boys feel proud of their school, and as I write even



THE REV. WILLIAM GRUNDY.
HEADMASTER 1880-5.

after these years I still feel that same regard for him and respect that I then did as a small boy. He took much personal interest in our games and sports, and was often to be seen playing with his first eleven in cricket matches. During match days at cricket or football he was often to be heard censuring any boy who funked a fast ball or the scrimmage at football. It was he who introduced the proper game of fives, being instrumental in erecting the two fine fives courts with buttresses the school then had; he was champion of his college at Oxford, and at the game he was always able to give any three of us boys points and beat us. Until his arrival we always played without gloves.

‘He was particularly severe on idlers in school. His floggings were no child’s play. Boarders used to exhibit the strokes across their shoulders and to have the number verified on retiring to rest in the dormitories.

‘The office of Prefect was instituted by him, a boy named Gerald King being the first boarder, and R. Johnston the first day-boy prefect. Once I remember there was some anxiety displayed by the prefects not to fall in with some suggestion he had made with regard to a subject he wished dealt with in the school. He abruptly brought us to our senses, and belittled our assumption of superiority by firmly stating that he greatly desired our assistance, but that if we did not give it, then he would do without it; this rather shows the type of man and his diplomacy in dealing with his boys.

‘He was exceedingly wide awake to all the tricks and weaknesses of boys, both large and small. Once he gave several of us leave to go to Leamington for what was then called on our leave forms “Tuck and other shops”; this form was signed by our form-master and countersigned by Mr. Grundy. Some half-dozen of us, instead of tuck, had purchased pipes and tobacco. After evening prayers he quietly said, “All boys who have smoking materials stand forward.” There was a dead silence; no one came forward. Then the crushing statement came, “The whole school is gated and kept in on half-holidays until I know.” He knew the miscreants all the time. We had to ultimately give in and were duly punished.

‘Many of the old boarders of that day will bear me out in

placing my finger on the estimable old hall porter named Marris as being the unknown Marconigram which conveyed information.'

Another old boy who was under Mr. Grundy, only in a lower form, writes:—

'He was essentially a commander. He would have made a great captain of industry. A good organiser, he viewed the school too much as a whole, from which certain results must be obtained, and he obtained them by largely ignoring the individual units which comprise the body corporate. Unless a boy was very clever, or very dull or stupid, he hardly ever came under Mr. Grundy's notice. Of his influence on clever boys I cannot speak. I only remember having one series of classes under him, when we read Ovid, and I do not remember being at all impressed with him as a teacher. His method with dull or lazy boys was summary. He used to put the two bottom boys of a class on "Satisfecit." If in a fortnight they had not bettered their place in class, they were flogged, after their names had been submitted to a masters' meeting. The lists were read out in big school on Saturday mornings by the headmaster, surrounded by the staff. A masters' meeting was held while we adjourned to our classrooms, where those who were expecting to be summoned later on to the headmaster's study made some slight preparation in the way of padding against the expected flogging.

'I was never flogged myself, but the method was as follows: You were summoned by Marris, the school porter, who came to the classroom door and said to the master, "If you please, sir, Mr. Grundy wants to see So-and-So in his study." The master in charge of the form then looked at the boys named, and they slowly rose and left the room and adjourned to the passage outside the study. When summoned inside they found the head- and their own form-master. Mr. Grundy would then in his severe, decisive way tell the boy that he was going to flog him, and order him to stand opposite the window; he then received about six strokes over the shoulders with the cane, which had a nasty habit of wrapping itself round the right arm. I have seen arms black and blue as the result of a bad flogging. So much flogging went on that it was

rumoured that on a Saturday, when Mr. Grundy was going to a chess match at Oxford, he missed his train because he had so many boys to flog.

‘No account of Mr. Grundy’s headmastership would be complete without a reference to the lady who presided over his house. Mrs. Grundy, *née* Mitchell of Aberdeen, married in 1881, had not much to do with the school, but she was always most sympathetic and kind whenever she came in contact with the boys, and united a charming manner to a charming presence.

‘During Mr. Grundy’s headmastership his sister, Miss Grundy, was lady matron. The standing joke was that a pill was the remedy for all and every ill to which boy flesh is heir. I always found her most kind and considerate when we were ill or ailing.

‘During his time, annual school sports, concerts, paper-chases, swimming-races, and so on were instituted.

‘Debating and essay societies were formed for the senior boys, and were generally held in the headmaster’s house during the winter evenings in the term.

‘Mr. Grundy’s own particular work was with the fifth and sixth forms for Classics and Roman History and Philology. Mr. Bickmore, a Fellow of New College, was Mathematical Master.

‘Mr. Haigh (Cambridge), Science Master, was exceedingly nervous, and consequently suffered many things at the boys’ hands. He fitted up the school laboratory and took great interest in the practical and demonstrative side of this work. An exceedingly methodical man and a good organiser, the general arrangement of this classroom owes all to him. My present interests owe much to his careful supervision and patience.

‘The third master, the Rev. Gilbert Walker, an Oxford B.A. on the Modern side, was an exceedingly popular man, who, on leaving, was presented with a handsome testimonial. His particular eccentricity exhibited itself in the much dilapidated college hat that he always wore; generally all four corners were smashed down.

‘Mr. Barry Meade, who was a high wrangler at Cambridge,

followed Mr. Haigh as Mathematical and Science Master, whose occasional efforts to appear stern generally ended in much uproar and some exits from the class. During his time Botany was taught, and small gardens became one of the hobbies of the boys.

‘The Music Master was Mr. C. H. Hulls, who was also a very good cricketer.

‘Last, and by no means least, our German and French Master was Herr Steen, who was nicknamed Froggy, though he was not a Frenchman but a German. He was a man of slight build, very neat in appearance. He had been through the Franco-German War of 1870, from which he brought away a bullet in the leg, and was quite a match for the English school-boy. His name was pronounced Stane, and whenever the hymn was used in which the line “Save us from sinful stain” occurred, the last word was given fortissimo and with emphasis. At times we imagined he suffered severely from indigestion, when his class generally had a bad time. He always seemed better pleased to teach German than French, and we always knew how our lesson would go in the first few moments, for if he joked us by such sayings as “Well, what is the word? Do you think it’s a fish?” or “What are you? a slow coach?” things went well. If you started badly with him in a new term, then come what would you never seemed to do right. His favourite expression is said to have been, “You damn fool, you boy you,” generally a preliminary to a sharp box on the ear. He did not take much interest in our games. I believe he once played football, but only once, his costume then was not suitable, and on his return he presented a pitiable sight. Possibly some old scores were paid off. But he played rounders sometimes and is credited with “phenomenal” hits. In the summer, especially on Sunday evenings, his favourite recreation was to sit on the school roller and read, with a German smoking-cap and smoking a German pipe of awe-inspiring dimensions.

‘The headmaster’s assistant was Mr. H. W. Smith, an able classic, who was unfortunately transferred with Mr. Grundy to Malvern.

A tuck shop was erected in the playground and run by

three or four of the senior prefects. By calculation there should have been some 100 per cent. profits, but, as is the case with many companies of the present day, the directors swallowed (literally) the profits. It was ultimately taken over by the hall porter, and then paid well.

‘There were three dormitories, the two top ones were known respectively as the North and South Pole, being so christened on account of exploring parties to those then unknown regions, when there were only about a dozen boarders on the lower floor. As the school filled there were organised bolstering matches between the dormitories.

‘Our football team was not a particularly strong one, but the cricket was very good for the size of the school. Trinity College, Stratford, and Stratford Grammar School were our worthiest competitors.’

The increase of the school under Mr. Grundy was rapid. There were only 8 boarders when he began; a year later there were 26; three years later the house was full with 70 boys, while the day-boys had also increased, as they always do increase with boarders, to 54. He applied to the governors in June 1884 to build a new boarding-house. This the governors with lamentable lack of foresight refused to do. Mr. Grundy had no intention of wasting his genius for organisation and development over a small school, if not supported by the governing body in developing it. He accordingly became a candidate for the headmastership of Malvern College on the retirement of Mr. Cruttwell in 1885, and was elected to enter there on the 1st of May. His success at Malvern was as phenomenal as at Warwick. Finding the school well under 200, by 1891, when he died suddenly, in great measure from over-work, he had increased it to 320, and firmly established its position among the great public schools.

Perhaps the most signal proof of the prosperity of the school and the headmaster's energy was the appearance of a school magazine in April 1884, under the somewhat barbarous title of *The Varvicensian*. It lived through seven numbers, the last being that for March 1885. The first number records the creation of a rifle corps with 20 members,

and the addition of a workshop. It recorded the events of the previous football season, which included two victories over Coventry Grammar School and two defeats, one very narrow by King Edward's School, Birmingham, and two very hollow defeats from Trinity College, Stratford-on-Avon. As the latter was rather a 'Crammer's' than a school, the disparity of ages at that stage of Warwick School was too great. The records of the cricket season showed victories over Trinity College, Stratford-on-Avon, and Coventry Grammar School, and a win and a loss against King Edward's School, Birmingham. The publication of a curiously eloquent essay on hero-worship, delivered to the Essay Society, shows a vigorous literary activity in the school and in the society, which was well supported by two of the masters, the Rev. E. R. Christie and Mr. Francis Gribble, now a successful novelist. A very favourable examiner's report on the school shows that the numbers had risen during the year 1885 from 113 to 135; while 3 boys had been sent up to try for Balliol scholarships, one of whom, W. G. Gibson, received special mention, an earnest of his success in actually winning that distinction in 1886. He was probably the most brilliant boy that the school had yet seen, and his success was a striking testimony in favour of Mr. Grundy's methods. 'His essays were interesting and suggestive. He had the love of knowledge for its own sake. An omnivorous reader, he remembered all he read.' But only a year after he went up to Balliol he was drowned while bathing in the Avon. This untimely end to a career which promised to reflect lustre on the school made a deep impression at the time. The brass tablet in the school chapel to his memory recalls how:

'Sunt lacrymae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.'

CHAPTER XV

DR. WAY'S DAY

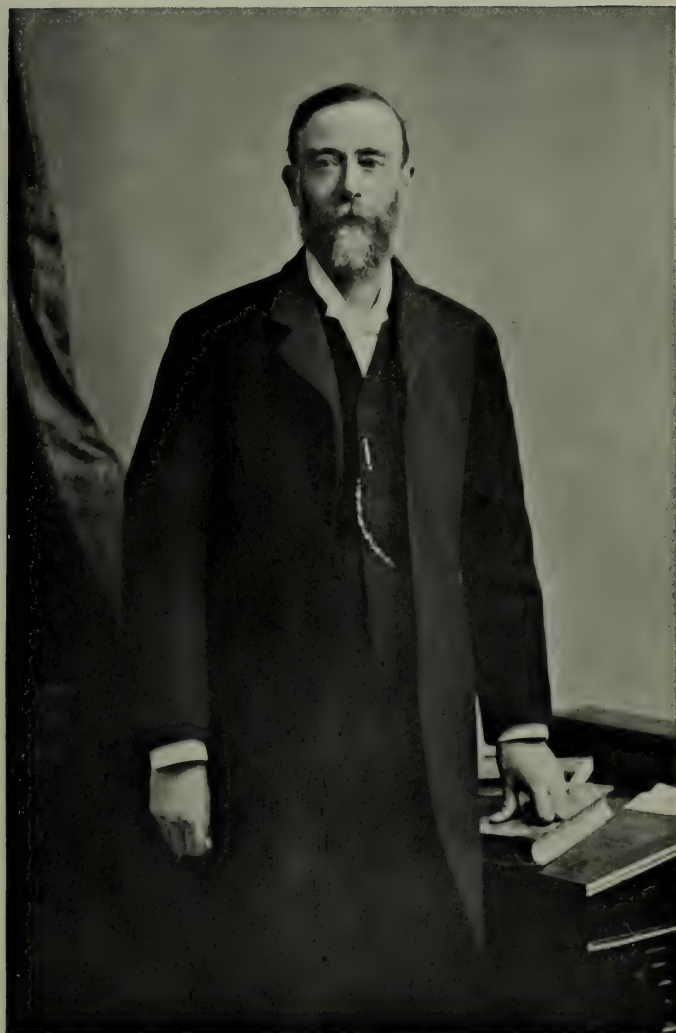
WARWICK SCHOOL was carried on during the summer term of 1885 by a *locum-tenens*, Rev. P. E. Raynor, a scholar of Winchester and New College, who subsequently accepted the wardenship of Christ's College, Hobart, Tasmania, and later the headmastership of St. Peter's College, Adelaide, in Australia, and since his return in 1894 has been headmaster of Ipswich.

On 13 May 1885 the Rev. John Pearce Way was appointed headmaster. He was then thirty-five years old. The son of a clergyman living at Bath, he had been educated at the Somersetshire College, afterwards known as Bath College, which in those days was in great repute for the number of excellent scholars turned out by Mr. Escott, and later by Mr. Dunn. Among his contemporaries were two editors of the *Fortnightly Review*, Mr. T. H. S. Escott and Mr. W. L. Courtney, and Mr. Evelyn Abbott of Oxford repute. Mr. Way was head of the school and captain of his school eleven, and thence won an open scholarship at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1869. At Oxford he was equally strenuous. He was for four years stroke of his college boat, which in 1872 was third, and in 1874 second on the river, and was stroke of the university boat in 1874, and again in 1875, when he turned the tide in favour of Oxford after five successive victories by Cambridge. He nevertheless managed to obtain a First Class in Moderations in 1871, and a Second Class in the final school in Literæ Humaniores, commonly called Greats, in 1874. After a year at Oxford as a private tutor he became in 1875 an assistant master on the classical side at Marlborough College, of which the late Dean Farrar was then headmaster. Two years afterwards he was made a house-master (so-called—

for the 'houses' were not 'houses' but blocks of a huge hostel) by the Rev. G. C. Bell, who had meanwhile become headmaster.

By character and experience Mr. Way was thus eminently fitted for the post which for eleven years he filled. During his term of office he definitely raised Warwick School to a high place among those schools which are at once local and national, and combine the advantages of day schools with those of boarding schools. While resembling 'the great public schools' in being national or non-local, in so far as they draw boarders from all parts of England, or rather of the Empire—Dr. Way, for example, had three successive entries from Canada, Australia, and India, and at the same time had the élite of the town of Warwick in the school—they look principally to the educational interests of boys of the neighbourhood. For by the aid of the boarders Warwick School provides the day boys with an educational equipment and an 'educational atmosphere' infinitely superior to that which it could give if confined to day boys. Under Dr. Way the harmony between the two elements, the local and the national, was complete; day boys and boarders alike felt that they were equally the objects of his impartial care.

He seems to have impressed the boys at once. One who had entered the school in the summer term of 1885, tells how many of the boys hoped that Mr. Raynor, acting headmaster, would be elected. But 'one morning at breakfast we saw walk up with Mr. Raynor, a pleasant-faced, bearded gentleman, who we at once guessed was to rule us next term. We noticed that he had a firm tread and a quick glance.' The same narrator tells how 'at first little alteration took place in the general working of the school, though here and there the reins were tightened; but so gently were alterations made that I do not think we quite realised what had taken place even after two years. We always found Mr. Way kindness itself, and all of us were accustomed to meet him at his own breakfast table, where he did his best, vainly, I fear sometimes, to draw us into conversation. When I first went into the sixth, I, along with others, dreaded his classes for some reason which we could never understand, for when once the class was started we found the lesson interesting



THE REV. JOHN PEARCE WAY.

HEADMASTER 1885-96.

enough, and Mr. Way as patient as possible. One thing he would not brook, and that was inattention; in his classes there was no room for an idle boy. On two occasions I remember him catching a boy cribbing. They were awful moments! For the industrious plodding boys Mr. Way entertained the greatest respect. I think they touched his heart. One Sunday night a hard worked fifth-form junior was alone in the reading-room trying to pick out the meaning of a chapter in Plato's *Apology*. The headmaster entered. "What are you doing here?" "Please sir, Plato." "But do you not know that you have no business to be doing Plato on Sunday?" "Please sir, I can't help it, I had no time to do it before." "Well, well, I know how hard it is for you. Let's see if we can't get through it a bit faster together." Mr. Way has probably forgotten the incident, the boy has not. The boy did not know the Plato next day in spite of the help given, but he had learned that his headmaster possessed a kind heart and he never dreaded him after that.'

Mr. Way was a bachelor when he first came, and his sister, Miss Way, presided over his household. But 'there was great excitement at the beginning of Michaelmas term 1890, when the news of the headmaster's engagement during the summer holidays was noised abroad.' During the Christmas holidays his marriage with Miss Gertrude Leach took place. 'From the time she came amongst us Mrs. Way's popularity went on increasing. Soon after her arrival she sang us "Cherry Ripe" at one of our penny readings, and that started her popularity. She always came to our concerts and often to our meals in hall, and there and in her own house we boys soon came to know and like her.' She gave a divinity prize yearly, and her father, Mr. Francis Leach, in 1894 founded a prize for an English essay.

The numbers had fallen heavily during the interregnum. At the end of 1884 they had been 132, but as soon as it was rumoured that Mr. Grundy was standing for the headmastership at Malvern they began to fall; and when it was known that he was leaving they fell heavily, so that the boarders sank from 70 to 49, and the day boys from 62 to 44, leaving only 93 in all at the beginning of Mr. Way's first term, 1885.

The school was divided into forms as follows: VI., V., IV., Upper III., Lower III., Lower School. As the numbers grew the lower school was divided into Remove and Shell—why these peculiarly unmeaning names have spread from Westminster to other schools, which had not, like it, any physical reason for the name of Shell, and still more why they are still adopted in new schools, nothing but the sheep-like nature of man can explain. The system of marking was peculiar. In each lesson every boy started with ten marks and added two for every place he went up, and deducted two for every place he went down. This was complicated and took a good deal of time, and was subsequently abandoned for the simpler process of numbering at the end of each lesson, and taking places up and down during it. The sixth were always marked by means of points for each answer.

The ultimate success of the older boys whom Mr. Grundy left behind him, showed careful and able teaching, but no boy from the re-organised Warwick School had as yet passed direct into Woolwich or Sandhurst, or won an open scholarship at Oxford or Cambridge. As the boys grew up the necessity for preparing them for the numerous other examinations, besides those of the universities and the army, now necessitated a more elaborate organisation. Those who learned mathematics had learnt them along with the rest of the classical form in which they happened to be. A new arrangement was now introduced by which they were re-distributed into sets for mathematics. This was a great help to the mathematical teaching, as was soon shown by results.

A special system of preparation for the army was arranged, and most of the candidates were successful. The preparation for scholarships at the universities was at the same time elaborated.

The school laboured under a great disadvantage as far as the development of classical scholarship was concerned by the lack of entrance scholarships. Again, by the school scheme of 1875, the study of Greek was penalised by an extra fee. The result was that the majority of boys learnt German instead. Not much more than thirty out of the whole school (on an average) learnt Greek. The actual average for ten

years of Mr. Way's time was 33. A school with such a small classical side was at a great disadvantage in competitions with schools which had perhaps 200 or 300, or even 400 boys, learning both of the classical languages. The school, however, attained a success which was not discreditable. The number of scholarships and exhibitions won at Oxford and Cambridge, though numerically small beside those won by the sixth forms of the large classical sides of the great public schools, was proportionately good when the small number of Greek learners is taken into account. It amounted to an average of about one per annum, *i.e.* one in every 30 boys (about) learning Greek. Great encouragement to all connected with the school was given by W. G. Gibson winning a Balliol Scholarship in 1886.

As the organisation told, scholarships for mathematical proficiency and historical knowledge were added to the classical honours. Of eleven boys who composed the sixth form in the first term of 1890, five won, and one was *proxime accessit* to, open scholarships or exhibitions at Oxford or Cambridge, one obtained entrance into Sandhurst, another the first place in the Crystal Palace Engineering School.

The school examiners were appointed by the governors. At first the Wykehamical connection still prevailed in the selection of fellows of New College as examiners. One, the Rev. Ambrose Short, who had been headmaster of Oswestry School, and then had the neighbouring living of Bodicote, near Banbury, was much liked, partly because he evinced a keen interest in games. He presented a set of hand-bells to the school. Another was the Rev. Hereford Brooke George, historical tutor at New College. 'He was,' says one of the examinees, 'very tall and big, with a very large beard, and looked very fierce; but he was the mildest-mannered man who ever ploughed an ignoramus and gave reports that belied his looks.' Another examiner was the Rev. W. H. Hughes of Jesus College, Oxford. At one of the Speech days the Master of Trinity, Cambridge, indulged in some criticism on Oxford examining the results of the teaching of masters who, except the headmaster, were all Cantabs. The fact was, the school was a centre for the Oxford local examinations, and

the examiner appointed for the governors also represented the university delegates for local examinations.

The contribution of boys to the old universities from such schools as Warwick would no doubt be larger if the universities did not insist on Greek, not only for students of classics, modern history, law or modern languages, but even for those going in for mathematics and natural science and engineering. The imposition of Greek in such cases is a mere shibboleth of a test. Boys who only take up Greek for the purpose of the test can never acquire more than a bowing acquaintance with the language or the literature, which latter they could probably better acquire from translations. The imposition of the test rouses in some a resentment against the classics as an instrument of education at large. There is a great deal to be said for an entrance examination which shall include classics and mathematics, modern languages and science, on an equal footing, so that all university men may be compelled to have had that all-round general education of which we hear so much and see so little. The classical man who has never learnt the elements of chemistry and physics, is a man of just as lop-sided and narrow a culture as the mathematical or science man who is guiltless of Homer or Molière or Shakespeare. It is the essence of a university to be a *studium generale*, a place where everything that advances knowledge is studied, and should be open to all who obtain a certain standard of proficiency in any of the great branches of human culture and learning.

Though the universities, then more than now, narrowed their portals, Mr. Way, classical man though he was, saw that it was not only the interest but the duty of Warwick School to throw open its entrance gates wide. He developed the modern side, in which German took the place of Greek, and Latin was reduced to a minimum to make room for modern subjects.

Among the assistant-masters whom Mr. Way appointed, and who still remain, is Mr. Robert Davies, scholar of Downing College, Cambridge, and fourteenth classic in 1882, who had two years' experience at Reading Grammar School before com-



THE DINING HALL.

ing to Warwick. 'Discipline at the time needed bracing up considerably, and he at once showed that he meant to keep order, and certain big fellows found that vigorous and consistent punishment followed every attempt at fooling. Three hundred lines was his usual imposition, nor had he to set it often after the first struggle was over. The oldest old boys always enquire for him first when they visit the old school.'

John Wishart Liddell, a major scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and 2nd class in the Classical Tripos, 1882 and 1883, came to Warwick for his first experience in school-teaching in 1886, and has been there ever since. The estimation in which he is held may be gauged by the fact that he was familiarly known as 'John.' It is reported of him that he too found discipline slack, and at first had a trying time of it, 'but our attempts to get a rise out of him he bore in the greatest good humour, and finally he settled himself in the hearts of the boys, who at length found out how far it was safe to go with him, and how far it was not.' He was the founder and president of the Shakespeare Society, perhaps the most continuously flourishing and successful of the school societies. He took part in the cricket matches against clubs, which were not schools, and his prowess at Association football (which used to be played in Lent term till hockey superseded it), and as an after-dinner speaker, are recorded in tones of enthusiasm by old boys. By the part which he took as honorary secretary in founding the old Warwickian Club, which held its first annual dinner in 1895, he has been of no small service in bringing old members of the school together, and producing reminiscences which have furnished this book with its nineteenth century history. Some anecdotes are told of him. A boy, asked the future of *θιγγάνω*, gave it as *θιγγξω*. 'Do you think so?' said Mr. Liddell, 'I don't.'

Two masters, both of whom died young, live in the memories of the boys of that date. One was Herbert Murphy, an old Uppingham boy, who had been trained under Thring. Geography and History were his subjects, and he taught them all the better because his Irish freedom made him popular, and his Irish humour was never long buried. If a boy talked or played in form, 'Come out, you bounder,' he would say, and

give him a cut with what he called his 'Penang persuader,' amid the laughter of the rest of the form. When a boy complained of the burden of an imposition which he was given, he would say, 'I'm very sorry, my dear fellow; I know it's a nuisance, but I'm paid to do it, I'm paid to do it.' He had a hatred of anything mean or unmanly. Once he saw a special friend of his in morning chapel leaning over the desk in front and torturing a small boy with a pin. He reported the boy and got him soundly flogged. But he was much upset, and walked for the best part of an hour up and down the fifth-form room, giving vent to his emotions: 'I can't work to-day; I can't work to-day.'

Murphy was the first lieutenant in command of the School Rifle Corps, which was attached as a cadet corps to the Warwickshire Volunteers, and used to share in the hospitality of Lord Leigh in its annual camp in Stoneleigh Park. He married in 1892, and left the school and settled down in Southport, where he died four years afterwards, his old camp chair and table standing in his study as among his most cherished possessions.

Of all the past assistant-masters of Warwick School, the one who has left the most lasting memorial of himself, and whose part in promoting the intellectual life of the school was certainly not the least, was William Waite. He was an exhibitor of Balliol and had been *proxime accessit* for the Lothian Historical Essay at Oxford, and came to Warwick in September 1888 to teach English subjects, and especially History. He was at the school for only three years, but two of his pupils won History scholarships at Oxford. He took over from the headmaster the presidency of the debating society, and by the zeal he showed and by his own remarkable speeches, he infused unwonted life into it, and made it for the time an efficient instrument of culture. In a debate on 6 October 1891, on the subject, 'Arbitration preferable to war as a mode of settling international disputes,' his peroration in favour of arbitration fairly carried 'the house off its legs.' Only a month afterwards he was seized with an attack of hæmorrhage from the lungs. Waite had to leave Warwick, and went to Queensland in the hope that the warmer climate

might save his life. There he interested himself in education, and had induced the prime minister of the colony to take up the question of university extension. But at the time the first public meeting was called to inaugurate the system Waite was in bed ill and unable to attend. On the 14 September 1893—oddly enough, at the town of Warwick, Queensland—he died.

The permanent memorial which he left behind him was the 'School Song.' In June 1889, a poem by him headed *Cantate Varvicenses* appeared in the new school paper, the *Portcullis*, which had made its first appearance in March 1888, and still thrives. *Varvicenses* is, by the way, would-be classical Latin for Warwickians (or Warwickers, which is the proper English for the inhabitants of Warwick or Warwick School boys). But it is as unhistorical as it is barbarous. While Latin was still almost a living language, the language in which the educated classes in England habitually wrote, and, at least on solemn occasions, habitually spoke, Warwick was always Latinized simply as Warwicus, and Warvicenses was the regular Latinization for Warwickers. As Waite's 'Song' consisted of five general stanzas, and then four stanzas for the summer and winter, and two for the Lent terms respectively, it was too long to be taken up as a 'school song.' In 1891, however, Mr. Arthur Peel, now Lord Peel, the Speaker, who was one of the governors, offered a prize of £5 for the best Warwick School song on the model of the Winchester *Domum*. The *Portcullis* for November following announced that three songs had been sent in; but they were not judged worthy of the prize. However, in July 1892, when the Speaker came himself to give away the prizes, he was greeted with a revised version of Mr. Waite's effort in 1889. Lord Peel got it set to music by Dr. Farmer, the composer of the Harrow School songs. It has done duty ever since as

WARWICK SCHOOL SONG

Here's a song for all, be they short or tall :
Sing, comrades, and sing in time
With a lusty swing, till the rafters ring,
For the school is the theme of the rhyme.

Then hurrah, hurrah, for Warwick School
And the life of each changing season ;
'Work hard, play fair,' is a golden rule,
And a man may sing, be he wise or fool ;
And silence is rank high treason.

LENT TERM

Now beats the ball on the fives-court wall,
Or the 'mile' or the 'quarter' we run ;
If we bruise our shins where our football spins,
I' faith ! it is part of the fun.
Then hurrah, hurrah, etc.

SUMMER TERM

In the cricket field the willow we wield,
Well equipped for the struggle and fit ;
We've skill and we've pluck, and with moderate luck
We'll cheer for the conquering hit.
Then hurrah, hurrah, etc.

And we plunge in the cool of the shady pool,
And Stoneleigh's lawns are green ;
And the flickering steel of the bicycle wheel
On Edgehill's height is seen.
Then hurrah, hurrah, etc.

WINTER TERM

There's plenty of fun, though the summer's done
And skies are leaden and grey ;
If frost and snow are keen, we'll show I ween,
That we can be keen as they.
Then hurrah, hurrah, etc.

So sing with a will, tho' the winds blow chill,
While we toughen our sinews and muscles ;
Close on the ball we'll follow all
In our hard-fought football tussles.
Then hurrah, hurrah, etc.

IN ALL TERMS

Though Latin and Greek are hard to speak
And Euclid's a sore vexation,
Be plucky and work, for fellows who shirk
Will be plucked in examination.
Then hurrah, hurrah, etc.

Stick hard, for your lives ! to grammar and fives,
Greek, algebra, football, and science,
If they're well gripped, then fully equipped
We'll face the world with defiance.
Then hurrah, hurrah, etc.

Though all things must return to dust,
Old friends let nothing sever,
But as you grow older, stand shoulder to shoulder,
Hurrah ! boys ! Warwick for ever.
Then hurrah, hurrah, etc.

These special verses composed by the reviser, Mr. John Bain, a master at Marlborough, were sung at the inauguration :—

Serene and great may our ship of state
Ride safely the dangers round her,
With men like Peel at the good ship's wheel
She never, God willing, shall founder.

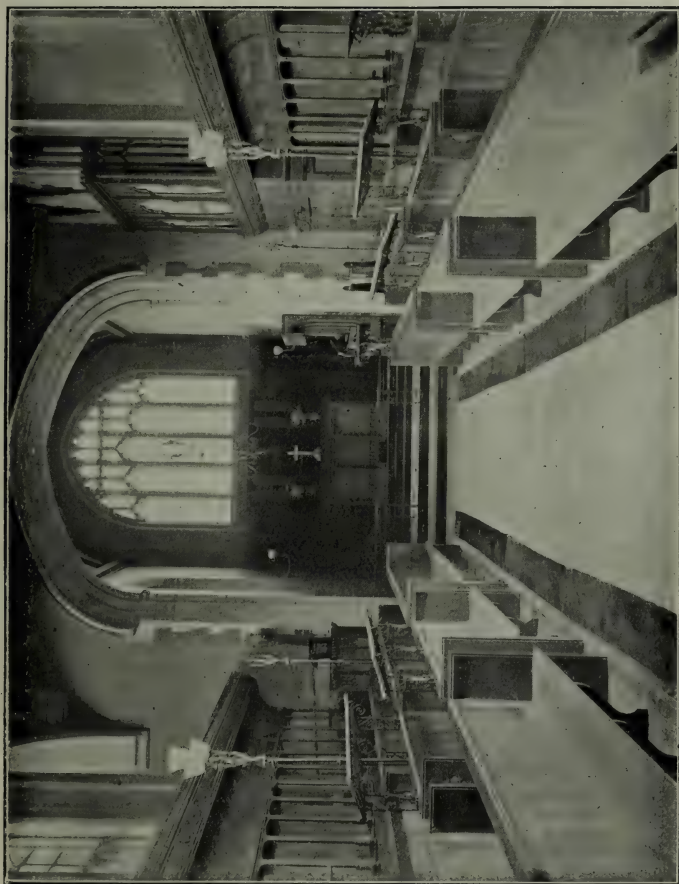
May our Warwick boat long proudly float
In fair or in stormy weather,
Through work or play, with a stroke like Way
To teach us to pull together.

The chapel was one of the scenes of Mr. Way's earliest improvements. When he entered office only a nave and two tiny transepts had been erected. For fittings little but bare seats had been provided. The communion vessels were of pewter. By degrees all this was remedied by the generous help of many friends of the school. The

side walls were coloured. In 1886 the plaster at the east end was covered with Tynecastle tapestry, a handsome altar cloth was put upon the altar, and a beautiful piece of embroidery worked by Mrs. Fowler, of Bath, formed a reredos, which was draped on either side with curtains and an oak cornice set above the whole. A plain set of book-rests for the choir was put in. There was no means of lighting the chapel. Temporary (home-made) stands to hold candles were provided, and later on gas standards of a better design took their place. Great was the joy of the boys when new gas standards relieved their heads from the continual droppings of hot wax. There was only a harmonium to accompany the singing. Moreover, it was the custom (sad to relate) for the bigger boys to kick the little boys if they presumed to sing. An organ was built in 1886 at a cost of some £500, by Messrs. Nicholson & Co., of Worcester. Mr. A. G. Warren, an enthusiastic musician, was appointed organist and choir-master, and a great improvement was brought about in the services, and the music of the school in general.

Mr. Warren found the choir in rather an unruly state at first, but he soon reduced it to order, and inspired the boys with pride in the choir services as well as the school concerts. He amused them with his rendering of all the parts at pleasure from bass to treble, and also with his strange romances and sententious sermonising. On one occasion his sermon rather failed of effect when he announced with great deliberation, 'Now boys, just remember this, "*Disobedience is a virtue.*"' On one occasion a small boy came to him and said he wanted to leave the choir. Warren said he could not. 'But sir,' said the boy, 'I thought the choir was voluntary.' 'So it is,' was the reply, 'It was voluntary for you to enter, and it is voluntary for me to let you leave it, and I won't let you.' This novel logic was too much for the boy. He remained in the choir, and was glad he had done so.

In 1893, the school then being full to overflowing, Mr. Way undertook the erection of the chancel, and the canopied oak stalls round the chapel. This was done by subscriptions and a bazaar which forms a green oasis of memory in the boys of that day. The first intimation of the great event was given



THE CHAPEL, 1902.

by the *Portcullis* in December 1892 announcing that the bazaar would be held in the castle grounds in the following June, when Lady Warwick and Lady Eva Greville would hold stalls. It was held on 27 June 1893 and two following days, and the columns of the *Portcullis* are radiant with the description of its delights. The earl was unfortunately ill with what proved to be his last illness, and the countess was unable to open the bazaar, which ceremony was performed by Lady Eva Greville. The temptations of 'The Dairy' in yellow and green muslin, presided over by Mrs. Nelson, wife of one of the governors; of the 'Fairy Well' the 'Floral Bower'; of Mrs. R. Lyttelton's stall of Italian wrought iron and copper work; the Countess of Warwick's stall, by the side of the world-famed 'Warwick Vase'; of Mrs. Heath's fancy needlework in which the arts of Vienna, Russia, and Circassia vied with each other; and of the 'Warwick School' stall by Mrs. Way, Lady Mary Dashwood and Mrs. Boulton adorned with the splendid orchids, which were Mr. Way's hobby, proved great attractions. Even greater were the living shows,—Maypole dances, water polo competitions, and canoe races, moving Tableaux Vivants in the Castle Hall,—all by the boys, who found the preparations lent a zest to life which made that summer term one of the most memorable of their school lives. The shillings poured from the pockets of the visitors to the extent of £600, in spite of a wet opening day.

Lady Warwick gave £50 for the pulpit. The forty stalls were provided by individual donors including governors, masters, and old boys, among them Mr. (now Sir) Melvill Beachcroft, one of the first aldermen of the London County Council, and no less than four by the boys, who also, by means of collections among themselves and others found no inconsiderable portion of the general funds. In October 1894 another bazaar was held in the Shakespeare Room of the castle, under the auspices of the present earl and countess, and produced some £230. Mr. Way gave a silver-gilt communion service. In the first term of 1895 the enlarged and beautiful chapel, a fine example of the result of strenuous effort, left the hands of the architect, Mr. W. F. Unsworth.

In 1897 another great improvement in the chapel by the substitution of oak seats for deal pews was effected by Mr. Way's successor, Mr. Percival Brown, as a 'Way Memorial.' Mr. Way gave the sedilia, and a stall, while his wife and his father-in-law, Mr. F. Leach, each gave stalls. Another stall was given in memory of Mr. Waite by his colleagues. The altar rails were provided by the school in commemoration of Robert H. Daunt, who died at the school 9 April 1893, at the age of seventeen. He had only a fortnight before won the championship cup at the school athletic sports, with throwing the cricket ball, high jump, long jump, hundred yards, quarter mile, and second in the hurdles, though already sickening with a feverish rash. He caught a chill which turned to pneumonia, and he died just when it was hoped that the worst was over. The incident created a painful sensation in the school.

All the glass is by Mr. Henry Holliday, who has also prepared designs for frescoes on the north and south walls of the sanctuary.

Under Mr. Way's care, the physical development of the boys was provided for no less than their spiritual welfare. In 1886 a cricket pavilion was presented by the generosity of individual governors, particularly Lord Warwick, Lord Leigh, and Viscount Peel.

The cricket-field itself left much to be desired. There was only one small oasis of level ground for a pitch. The outfielders had to stand on the ridges of the old tables, results of the ploughings of many centuries. The levelling was done piece by piece by the school itself during the winter, with school resources and under home management. A year after his arrival Mr. Way imported from Marlborough what may almost be dubbed a cricket-master in the shape of Frederick Gosnal Jameson Page, who had been a wicket-keeper at Cambridge, where he was at Gonville and Caius College. He took in hand the levelling, and in 1887 Queen Victoria's first jubilee furnished the occasion for collecting a Jubilee Fund of £60 to finish the work.

The *Portcullis*, not without reason, lifted its horn on high. 'Before this new addition,' it trumpeted, 'our cricket

pitch was quite the best in the county; now, though in point of size it is not equal to the new county ground at Birmingham, still we may flatter ourselves that it is the second best, being twice the size, and far better than any other school fields around us.' Perhaps it was forgotten that Rugby is in Warwickshire.

The Jubilee Fund also provided an avenue of limes between the school and the field, and 'the light and shade' of their 'cool colonnade' already begin to reproduce the glories of Winchester Meads or Rugby School Close.

A gymnasium was next added, in 1890, as a memorial to W. G. Gibson, the Balliol scholar, and was largely due to the support of Mr. H. M. Punnett. A striking incident marked its erection. It was the Lent term, once odious to school-boys. The walls had just reached their full height and were ready for the roof, when, one Sunday afternoon, a wind from the north-west levelled them to the ground one after another. Great was the excitement of the boys who had seen one wall down, and the masters could hardly keep them from standing nearly under the building to watch the other swaying and cracking and ready to follow its fellow. But the inexorable bell rang for chapel, they had to leave the fascinating sight, and when they rushed out after chapel, the gymnasium was a heap of bricks. The misfortune was not without its good results, as a building somewhat unsightly at the best was then improved by the addition of buttresses. A workshop was added to it on the east, and the old workshop became a science lecture-room.

The increasing numbers of boarders, which had overflowed the school house, put before the governing body the choice of either adding to the existing buildings or seeking fresh accommodation elsewhere, or, as they had done with fatal effect in Mr. Grundy's case, declining to accept the offered increase. This last was not to be thought of, since increased numbers, up to at least 300, a number which Warwick has not yet shown signs of passing, are synonymous with increased efficiency. Numbers are not everything, but, up to a certain point, numbers make it easier to provide the different kinds of special training needed in the schools of the present day. The

greater the number of forms and sets, the more homogeneous is it possible to make each form or set, and the easier it should be to maintain both classical and modern 'sides' and special 'sets' in full efficiency.

A house was therefore taken temporarily, in 1888, in the Emscote Road, and put under the charge of Mr. Page, who already had had experience in a private school. In the autumn an urgent appeal was made to the governing body to undertake the erection of a new boarding-house on some land belonging to King Henry VIII.'s trustees which adjoined the school property, and was in the market. They declined to undertake the risk. So it came about, as it usually does in such cases, as the history of Uppingham under Thring, of Bedford under Phillpotts, are salient but by no means unique examples, that the headmaster had to take up the task. Unable to persuade any one else to make the venture, he resolved to build himself, on the terms that when he left Warwick the governing body should have the right of pre-emption. The land was bought from the trustees of King Henry VIII.'s charity—it might properly have been given—by May 1889 the house was completed, and occupied in September of the same year.

It was called the Junior House, and was intended to receive all the smaller boys, so that they might be under a milder *régime* by themselves. Mr. Page, whose breezy, cheery personality and great interest in the life of boys, especially their games, and sound common sense were a great help to the work of the school, was placed in charge.

An old boy writes: 'When I went into the house in 1891, besides the headmaster, Mr. Page, and his wife, there was an assistant master, Mr. C. C. Abbott, and a lady matron. There were about 40 boys. At night Mr. Page used to go about in felt slippers with a benzoline lamp and a glass shade, and if he saw the clothes of a bed disarranged, used to make his cane descend vigorously *in situ*. Often he would say "Get out," and sometimes, but by no means always, "Put your dressing-gown on," and cane the suspect youth over his knees. The prefects, too, used to have wholesale executions for any disturbances in dormitories.' There was also caning in lieu of 'lines,' 6 strokes = 300 lines. Yet the same authority records



THE JUNIOR HOUSE.

that 'dormitory contests were frequent.' So the methods were not too Spartan for the spirits of these juniors.

Mr. Page was also instructor in theology, in which his method was racy and effective. It was pictorial, on the model of Rows, who, when he wished to record that Thomas Beauchamp was King Henry VI.'s guardian and rebuilder of St. Mary's, depicted him with a small king seated on one hand and a tiny church on the other. So, if Mr. Page wanted to impress the story of Balaam, an ass appeared on the blackboard, and if that of Daniel, a lion, and so on. Hence it happened that in a Junior Oxford local examination one of the small boys, in answer to the question, 'Give a sketch of the life of Jehu,' delighted the examiners by drawing a horse's head.

The Junior House had the intended effect, and in January 1895 the school reached 168.

On 16 May 1896, to the dismay and regret of boys, masters, and governors, Mr. Way resigned the headmastership of Warwick, on appointment as headmaster of Rossall, and left at the end of the summer term. At Rossall he has been as successful in acquiring the confidence of parents as he had been at Warwick, and the school flourishes abundantly under his auspices, among other things the number of scholarships at the universities rising from an average of three to an average of close on five a year.

The Rev. Robert Percival Brown was the next headmaster of Warwick. He was a 'Pauline' of the early days after the removal of that famous school from its old site by St. Paul's Cathedral to its present spacious quarters in Hammersmith. Thence he won a scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge, and in due course was, in 1884, placed in the first class in the classical tripos. Like Dr. Way, he began his scholastic career as an assistant-master at Marlborough College, but after a year there, went to King William's College, Isle of Man. He became, in 1887, headmaster of the newly reorganised Kendal Grammar School, and then was for five years headmaster of the Royal Naval College, Eltham. Mr. Brown's time is too recent to be made the subject of history. For reasons which it would be difficult to set out, if indeed they are exactly ascertain-

able, the school experienced a serious decline in numbers under him. There was no deficiency in skill or labour on the part of the headmaster, nor in results, as shown by successes in the Oxford local examinations or at the universities themselves. In 1902, when the school numbered under 70 boys, it won four scholarships or exhibitions at Oxford and Cambridge. But the school house, which was full with 70 boarders in 1896, had fallen to 35 in 1902. At the Junior House there was an even more serious drop to 4, and the day-boys also declined in proportion.

Undoubtedly one cause which contributed to the falling off of the day-boys was the re-organisation of the Middle School, which took place on the resignation of the old headmaster there only a week before that of Dr. Way. The school, which had been, what it was intended to be, a kind of 'higher elementary' school, was now converted into a 'school of science' in the nomenclature of the Department of Science and Art, then nominally a branch but really an independent offshoot of the Education Department. By the aid of the Departments' grants and by assistance from the Warwickshire County Council the school now put itself forward in competition with the Grammar School for the local boys, a competition which the perhaps somewhat too severely classical tone imputed to Mr. Brown served to enhance. But that was not the sole cause. The causes of the success of one man and the failure of another as headmaster of a secondary school, and the causes of the success and failure of the same man at two different schools, are so complicated by personal, local, and often trivial and accidental circumstances, that it is an idle and a thankless task to trace them out in detail.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ATHLETIC RECORD

WITH the removal of the school to its present site, with its spacious cricket field, at first 12, and now 18 acres, a new era of athletic development began.

CRICKET.

From 1883 matches have been played continuously against King Edward's School, Birmingham, and Trinity College, Stratford. Matches with Bromsgrove Grammar School were first arranged in 1891, with Leamington College (now extinct) in 1890, with St. Edward's School, Oxford, in 1897, and with Reading School in 1903.

In 1884 twenty matches were played, of which 9 were won, 5 lost, and 6 drawn. The victories included two handsome defeats of Trinity College, Stratford, by an innings and 81 runs, and by ten wickets respectively. A. N. Johnson in bowling, and R. Johnson in both bowling and batting, were the chief performers.

The inclusion of the Rev. F. G. Page in the staff, in 1886, greatly improved the school cricket. He was a fine free-hitting batsman with a powerful drive, an excellent wicket-keeper, and a bowler by no means to be despised as his performance against Dorridge in 1890 proves, when he secured 5 wickets for 9 runs. A characteristic story is told of him that when playing for Leamington *v.* M.C.C. he was asked to keep wicket. As he was going into the field he was requested to captain the team, and at once took off his pads and wicket-keeping gloves with the remark that now he was captain he was going on to bowl—and he did very successfully. Several big hits of his are remembered, notably one from the centre of the ground hard against Big School.

The 'professional' who coached the boys from 1886 to 1890 was Shore. He was a fine bowler and three times in one season did the 'hat trick' against club teams; but he was greatest as an umpire. Once when asked by our captain whether two of his decisions against our opponents were not rather doubtful, his answer was, 'No, sir; quite right. They cheated out one of our men, and I always gives out two of theirs for it.' In 1902-3 we possessed another character, Horton, who eked out his exiguous earnings by selling to the boys innumerable photographs of himself in all conceivable attitudes.

The XI. of 1888 included several names that became famous in our cricket annals. Of O. E. Hayden, the captain, it is difficult to say whether his batting or his bowling was the more useful. He had a steady defence, and could hit well all round the wicket; but his most characteristic stroke was a beautifully executed off-drive. He bowled medium to fast with a rather curious action. In 1889 and 1890, he took 21 wickets for an average of 5·5, and 52 at an average of 7·1 respectively, and his batting average in 1890 was 21·7.

R. Challoner was, perhaps, the best bowler the school has ever produced—left-hand medium with some break either way. His batting was often effective when runs were badly wanted, though his style was not of a high order. Against Warwickshire Club, in 1890, when the school won an exciting match by 96 to 85, he took 6 wickets for 34 runs. Two days later, against K.E.S., Birmingham, he captured 6 wickets for 13. His record for that year was 51 wickets at an average cost of 8·4, which he reduced in the following year to 7·3. Challoner was an equally famous member of the school Rugby XV. He afterwards played cricket for New South Wales in 1902, and in 1901 represented Australia against an English Rugby Football team.

W. K. Tarver was a pretty bat, with excellent defence and remarkable punishing power for one so young. He was also very quick in the field, and a useful bowler. On several occasions he was instrumental in carrying the total over the century for the first wicket. Amongst his most notable performances may be mentioned 165 against Trinity College,



THE CRICKET ELEVEN, 1905.

Stratford, in 1899; 118 against the Warwickshire Crusaders in 1890; and 113 not out against Leamington College in 1891. In this last year his batting average reached 44.

H. O. Arton, a hard hitter with a beautiful cut, scored 76 out of 118 recorded for the first wicket, against Leamington College in 1891, and made 123 against Mr. Goff's team. Another century was made the same year for the Present *v.* Past by E. S. Jerdein, who scored 110 not out.

The record of matches for 1889 was 9 won, 2 lost, 4 drawn; for 1890, 9 won, 4 lost, 4 drawn; for 1891, 9 won, 3 lost, 6 drawn. But even these excellent results were surpassed in 1892, when the summary reads 11 won, 1 drawn, 1 tie, and 2 lost. One of the losses was to the Warwickshire Club and Ground. They sent down a very strong team including Pallett, at that time one of the best slow bowlers in England, and on the sticky wicket he proved quite unplayable, the school compiling only 52 against 179. The greatest victory of that year was won in a return match against King Edward's School, Birmingham, who made 73, while Warwick made 240 for 5 wickets (A. H. Mann 100 not out, V. A. S. Keighley 50, E. S. Jerdein 43). They had been beaten in the first match by 143 to 77, Jerdein on that occasion making 73. In a low scoring match won against Trinity College, Stratford, some remarkable bowling was done for us by H. Howell, who took 6 wickets for 10 runs in the first innings of T. C. S., and 4 for 11 in the second, whilst E. S. Jerdein in the second innings got 6 for 11. The most exciting match of the year was against Wellesbourne Cricket Club; each side made 99, and the last Wellesbourne man was bowled with the last ball of the last over before the time of drawing stumps.

In 1893 Mann scored 79, not out, against Leamington College, and improved on this against Birmingham by keeping them in the field while he made 93.

The record year of all was 1894. Of 17 matches 13 were won, 2 drawn, and only 2 lost. W. Coles headed the batting averages with 26, and as a bowler took 60 wickets at 8.16, while A. L. Baines accounted for 73 at an average cost of 7.4.

The next year, 1895, was statistically remarkable for its evenness of result, 5 matches being won, 5 lost, and 6 drawn. A centenarian appeared in A. S. Hewitt who, making 104, with H. T. Baines's 75, helped to inflict a crushing defeat on our old rivals at Stratford.

The season of 1896 was one of close finishes. The match with Bromsgrove was won by 1 run—129 against 128; the match against K.E.S., Birmingham, was lost by 2; Jesus College, Oxford, was defeated by 8; the 2nd XI. played with the Old Edwardians' 2nd XI. a tie of 73 runs each. H. T. Baines was at the head of the batting averages with 24·2. He more than doubled this in 1897 with the record average of 51. That his hitting was as powerful as his defence was sound, was proved by his making 100 out of 155 in the Past *v.* Present match of this year.

Playing against K.E.S., Birmingham, in 1897, R. C. Merryweather took 6 wickets for 4 runs, and F. C. Van Cortlandt 3 wickets for 5.

From this year onwards, owing to declining numbers, the school cricket suffered an eclipse, more matches being lost than won, though there have been several notable achievements. The best cricketers of 1902 were E. C. Wroth and W. E. Hunt. The former had an average of 24·5 with a highest score of 82. He was a fearless hitter, and perfectly imperturbable from the moment he left the pavilion, with one hand in his pocket and a straw in his mouth, till he lost his wicket. Hunt had the excellent analysis of 62 wickets for 8·8 runs apiece.

E. H. Clutterbuck was the hero of an exciting match with St. Edward's School, Oxford, in 1903, in which he made 108 out of 240 for six wickets. The last Oxford wicket fell at 166 at the last ball but one of the last over. This success Clutterbuck followed up by scoring 85 against the Warwickshire Gentlemen, who were beaten by 255 to 59.

Last year, 1905, with increased numbers in the school, the number of wins increased to five against seven losses. This was mainly due to R. E. Partridge who batted with the greatest steadiness; he five times made over 50 in an innings, and headed the averages with 33·8.

Amongst noteworthy performances, besides those already

recorded, may be mentioned the feat of R. Johnson and H. Lowe, who, playing for Present *v.* Past in 1883, put on 185 runs for the first wicket. Lowe made 117, and Johnson 77. In the same season W. Walker took nine wickets for 1 run in the second innings of Stratford Grammar School. The total score of Stratford was 4. Johnson in 1885 made 123, not out, against Wellesbourne Club. In 1889, W. M. Carnegie, playing against Stratford Grammar School, took seven wickets for 2 runs; and next year against Coventry School O. E. Hayden in the two innings got 8 for 16, and R. Challoner 11 for 18.

For the encouragement of an unselfish style of batting the Hon. R. H. Lyttelton presented a challenge cup in 1890 for the highest batting average in which 'not out' innings were counted as completed; while to stimulate the rising talent the Rev. J. P. Way instituted prizes for the best bowling and fielding below the first eleven. Mr. J. W. Liddell, who did much to foster the games, used to give a bat for every innings of over 50 made in a second eleven match; and in 1900 added to his kindness by presenting a challenge cup for fielding to be competed for by those who had played in the first eleven.

FOOTBALL.

A school in Warwickshire naturally plays the Rugby game at football, with the usual fifteen a side for matches. The list of schools played at football is the same as for cricket, and the alternations of fortune have been curiously similar. The high-water mark of success was reached in the season 1894-5, when eleven matches were won and two lost, the points scored for the school being 182 against 44. The two defeats were, by 2 points (Trinity College, Stratford), and by 1 (Lincoln College, Oxford). The captain of the team was A. S. Hewitt, an invaluable three-quarter, running and tackling well, and passing most unselfishly. L. F. Cass was the best of a fine set of forwards. A peculiar feature of the season was the fact that in almost every match the team started indifferently, allowing their opponents to score first.

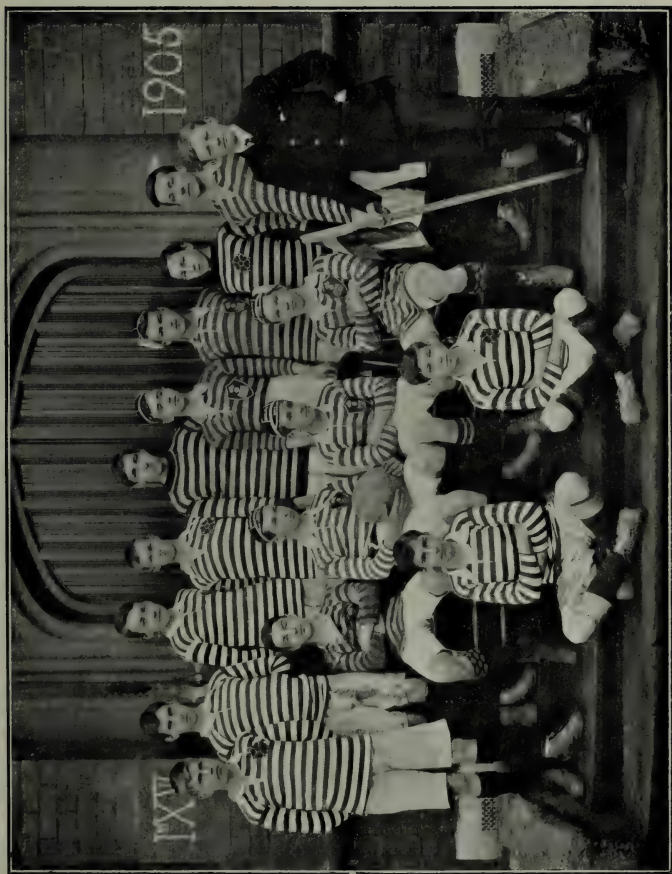
Probably the heaviest score ever made by the school team was in 1883-4, when it beat Birmingham Five Ways by 14 goals and 2 tries to nil. A fine display of place-kicking was witnessed in 1884 against Daventry School, 17 tries producing 10 goals; and in 1889, when out of 15 tries obtained, 12 goals were kicked. In 1894 H. T. Baines, whose cool and accurate kicking was a considerable factor in the success of that season, placed 7 goals in 8 shots against Newcastle High School.

Some records were established in 1891. Both Trinity College, Stratford, and K.E.S., Birmingham, were twice beaten, the latter on one occasion by over 40 points, and Leamington College by 40. With Bromsgrove honours were as usual equal. This was O. P. Arton's year, a reckless half-back, who would cheerfully risk his neck to gain an inch of ground, and employed his leisure moments in kicking his forwards into the scrummage.

All school matches were won in 1892, except for one draw with Trinity College. With Bromsgrove in 1896 occurred a fine win. They were 11 points to the good till the last quarter of the game, when Warwick pulled itself together, and after a furious struggle secured 13 points without further loss. N. N. Wade, who figured on this occasion, afterwards played for Edinburgh University.

From 1899 a series of disastrous seasons has been lightened only by an occasional success. It would seem easy to count accurately up to fifteen, but we find that once in a match with Coventry School two tries were obtained by us before it was discovered that our opponents were playing only twelve men; and three of ours were withdrawn. In the same year the Old Warwickians played sixteen for a time till the excess was observed.

In the Lent term it was customary to play Association 'Sevens,' every boy in the school being enrolled in one seven, and these produced a good deal of excitement. On one occasion sixteen teams were arranged. But since the subdivision of the school into four 'Houses' in 1896, house matches have superseded them; and a similar system has been introduced into the cricket and hockey.



THE FOOTBALL XV, 1905.

ATHLETIC SPORTS.

The first athletic sports were held in 1876 on the town cricket ground, and were promoted by Drs. Bullock and Nunn. The name of the former is a household word in Warwick Athletics, all his sons having greatly distinguished themselves in the playing fields. In the recent Boer war, A. H. Bullock, serving in Col. Plumer's force, was shot in the leg whilst reconnoitring a Boer position. By a strange coincidence three of his comrades were also similarly maimed. It is said that immediately after they had been placed in hospital Bullock arranged a hundred yards' race between them to be run off in a month from that date—a striking instance of the family devotion to the running track.

Since their institution athletic sports have been held annually, originally at the beginning of the summer, but afterwards, with two exceptions, in the end of the Lent term. The records in the sports stand at present as follows:—

Event.	Record.	Year.	Performer.
100 Yards, . .	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ secs.	1880	L. Richardson.
$\frac{1}{4}$ -Mile,	49 $\frac{3}{4}$ secs.*	1882	A. E. Bullock.
	54 $\frac{3}{4}$ secs.	1891	R. Challoner.
Hurdles, . . .	17 $\frac{3}{5}$ secs.	1901	A. Addenbrooke.
High Jump, . .	5 ft. 3 ins.	1893	{ R. H. Daunt.
			{ V. A. Keighley.
Long Jump, . .	19 ft. 1 in.	{ 1893	R. H. Daunt.
		{ 1901	A. Addenbrooke.
One Mile, . . .	4 m. 57 $\frac{1}{2}$ secs.	1896	K. W. Barlee.
Throwing the } Cricket Ball, }	105 Yards	1880	L. Richardson.

* [The course was found on subsequent measurement by the Amateur Athletic Association to have been seven yards short on this occasion.]

A challenge cup is given for the largest number of points obtained in these events, to be held for a year. This was won by R. Challoner, for the third time in succession, in 1891.

The school has been more successful in athletics than in other things in producing blues. While no cricketer or foot-

baller has represented the university, E. A. Wilding ran the hundred for Cambridge in 1895; and G. W. Clark threw the hammer for Oxford in 1899 and 1900.

K. W. Barlee represented Trinity College, Dublin, in the half-mile in the same years.

MINOR SPORTS.

The neighbourhood of Warwick is especially favourable for paper chases, and they have occupied the energies of the boys in a desultory fashion as far back as we have records. But in 1897 they were systematised, and a house competition held in them. The runs are three in number. There is no limit to the number of entries of boys over 14 years of age, who are certified by the doctor to be in sufficient health, but only the first five of each house are counted, and the championship goes to the house with the smallest number of points. This carries with it the retention of the challenge cup, given by the masters, for one year. These runs have been in abeyance for the last two or three years, but they will shortly be resumed.

Amongst the minor games of the school are hockey and fives. The former was played in the early Way period in the Lent term; but during an outburst of football enthusiasm, a successful agitation was started by O. P. Arton for its abolition in favour of the nobler game. It was revived in the more scientific form now played in the Lent term, 1902, with great success. The same term is also dedicated to fives, for which a tournament is held, singles and doubles. A challenge cup was given for the singles in 1901 by D. L. H. Mercer, an old enthusiast at the game, provoking keen competition.

The swimming sports were of old held in the river opposite the school at an early hour in the morning; but, as this shocked the susceptibilities of some good people, they were transferred to the baths. For the last two years the Leamington Baths have been retained for them at an hour which makes it possible to secure a large concourse of spectators. Proficiency in the art of swimming is encouraged by competition for the Rainbow Challenge Cup, which is held for one year by the winner of the 150 yards open race. This cup was

instituted in memory of an old master who in New Zealand gallantly sacrificed his own life in trying to save two boys who were drowning, he himself being unable to swim.

A gymnastic competition was instituted in 1903, and Mrs Bouchier kindly presented a challenge cup in 1904. Appropriately enough it was won both in that year and in 1905 by L. C. Bouchier. The first six in the competition form the gymnastic six, and wear colours presented to them with the prizes. A permanent drill and gymnastic instructor has now been secured in Sergeant Summers, and his keenness and energy are already bearing good fruit.

The Cadet Corps, attached to the second volunteer battalion of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment, dates from 1884. In its first year of existence it numbered only thirty-seven, and was divided into two sections, the seniors and the juniors. The seniors were provided with full uniform, and enrolled in the Warwick volunteer company; the juniors had to content themselves merely with caps. Great improvements were effected by the appointment of Mr. J. W. Forbes to the command in 1894. The boys were inspired with his own extraordinary enthusiasm, and the strength of the corps was raised till it contained practically every boy in the school who reached the prescribed standard of height and age. In 1899 it became a separate Cadet Company, with complete uniform and equipment, and began to take part in Public School field-days and camps. It has since remained one of the most popular of school institutions. Morris-tube shooting is now practised at a miniature range in the gymnasium, and rifle-shooting on the range at Wedgnock Park. The best shot holds the Lakin Challenge Bowl for one year, and he is presented with a model of it.

CHAPTER XVI

TO-DAY

THE Rev. William Theodore Keeling was appointed headmaster in November, and took over the charge of the school after Christmas 1902.

Mr. Keeling is himself the son of a headmaster whose name is famous in the North of England—the Rev. William Hulton Keeling, who in 1871 became headmaster of Bradford Grammar School, one of the first schools re-organised by the Endowed Schools Commissioners. There, with the minimum of aid from endowment, and, at times, the maximum of opposition from some quarters, he attracted and has steadily maintained a school of some 500 boys, whose achievements have been remarkable alike in the classical, the mathematical, and the scientific spheres. The number of assistant masters whom he has sent forth as headmasters to other schools is legion, an excellent proof of his skill as commander-in-chief in the choice of his subordinates. If, therefore, there is anything in heredity, and if the inherited faculties and experience of the parent make any impression on the mind of the child, the present headmaster of Warwick is destined to command success. He was himself brought up at Bradford School, and won a leaving exhibition thence, and an open scholarship at Jesus College, Cambridge. There he obtained a second class in both the classical and theological tripos. After 2 years at Liverpool, and 4 years at Epsom College as an assistant master, he became second master at Weymouth College for a year, before obtaining his present post.

The new headmaster found that some improvements in the school buildings were already being made. They consisted of two blocks. Six studies, each containing accommodation for three of the elder boys, were built against the west wall of the



THE REV. WILLIAM THEODORE KEELING.
HEADMASTER 1902.

big school, between it and the dining-hall, with facilities for those 'brews' of tea and cocoa which are dear to the schoolboy heart. The second block is even more congenial. The old one-story building at the end of the corridor opposite the science room has been pulled down and a two-story building takes its place. On the ground floor is (1) a much improved playbox room, (2) a music room, also used as a vestry for the chapel, (3) a lavatory with tiled floor and eight basins provided with hot and cold water. On the first floor, to which access is had by a new and spacious pitch-pine staircase, are (1) five bath-rooms on the latest and most approved plan, (2) two music-practising rooms, (3) a room with apparatus for drying jerseys, etc., after football, (4) master's bedroom and sitting-room. Members of past generations of Warwick boys, who remember with a shudder the cold inconvenience of coming down the stone staircase and along the lengthy corridor every time they had a bath, will envy the present generation's luxurious combination of comfort and cleanliness. At a recent meeting of headmasters at Warwick, a well-known headmaster remarked that the only fault to be found there was that parents were given too much for their money.

In the spring of 1905 the governors, on the representation of the headmaster, undertook the erection of a new science school instead of the two class-rooms, which are found quite inadequate for that first-class scientific education which, without neglecting the classics, Warwick Grammar School now provides. Mr. Trepess, of Warwick, is the architect. On the ground floor there are to be chemical and physical laboratories, lecture theatre, balance-room, and experiment preparation room, while upstairs there will be two large class-rooms, and complete accommodation for two resident masters. This building will be ready for use in 1906.

The chapel has been further beautified by filling the east window with stained glass, designed by Mr. Henry Holliday. The central light was put in in memory of Cecil Meiggs; the tracery at the top of the window was given by the governors. The window represents scenes from the life of Christ, that with the Doctors in the Temple being appropriately conspicuous.

A memorial brass has been placed on the north wall of the

chancel to the memory of those four members of the school who died in South Africa in the years 1900-1903, with the inscription—

A.M.D.G. ET IN MEMORIAM

G. W. R. NETTLESHIP

J. H. LONGBOTHAM

W. E. TUCKER

R. H. TREHEARNE

QUI IN AFRICA MILITANTES

PRO PATRIA MORTEM OPPETIERUNT

HOC MONUMENTUM POSUERUNT

AMICI AMICIS

ANNO DOMINI MDCCCCV.

A litany desk, with similar inscription, forms part of the same memorial.

Of the choir, some twenty are now habited in surplice and cassock, while others are probationers. One of the smallest aspirants for full choral vesture asked the music master plaintively: ‘Please, sir! am I an *incubator* still?’ while another inquired if it was necessary for him to put on his *hassock* for practices.

The high standard of work set during previous years has been maintained. The science will be more than equal to all the demands of the neighbouring University of Birmingham when the new science school is completed. Additional attention is being given to modern languages. Cambridge University, with two Warwick boys among the Wranglers of 1905, witnesses that mathematics are already efficiently taught. At the same time, Oxford University can bear evidence that the school still performs the functions of the old classical grammar schools, for in 1904 more distinctions were gained in Latin and Greek, in the Junior Oxford Local Examinations, by Warwick than by any other school.

‘Howlers,’ of course, occur, and two of recent date, perpetrated by a VI. form boy are too good to be lost. Horace’s ‘Care Mæcenas eques’ was rendered ‘Take care of the horses, Mæcenas’; while ‘regio deserta siti’ (Virgil) was translated ‘Deserted by a royal thirst.’

Emphasis should be laid on the fact that although the school still maintains its cosmopolitan character—at the present time the boarders include boys from India, Burmah, West Australia, Demerara, St. Kitts, South Africa, and Java—yet it is a Warwickshire and Midland School, two-thirds of the whole number (110) of boys in it being drawn from the town and county. They are eligible for the major scholarships given by the Warwickshire County Council, tenable at any higher place of education, which form a valuable supplement to the Fulke Weale Exhibition, which is awarded annually to the best scholar in the school on the result of the Oxford and Cambridge Board Examination for higher certificates.

The Museum, for which funds are slowly accumulating, has lately received a very important addition, in the present, from the Warwickshire Natural History Society, of about 150 birds from all parts of the world, for which cases and stands have been provided by Mr. Gibbins, of Ettington Hall.

The school societies are all healthy and vigorous. During the last two years bicycle and chess clubs, and a fire-brigade, have been started. These, together with the Natural History Society, the Photographic Society, and the Shakespeare Society, contribute much to the life and welfare of the school.

Two real wants still remain to be supplied—a swimming bath and an enlarged pavilion; both, it is to be hoped, will ere long be provided through the generosity of the friends of the school and Old Warwickians. For not the least of the institutions of the school is the Old Warwickian Club, the present flourishing state of which owes much to the zealous and untiring exertions of Mr. W. V. P. Hexter, now an assistant master at the King's School, Ely. Especially is any one interested in this history bound to pray for his and its good estate.

Space permits no more than a mere mention of the two other schools which the scheme of 1876 grafted on the old School foundation. As Eve was taken out of the side of Adam of old, so the Girls' School was carved out of the Boys' Grammar School. This modern Eve was at once given a separate estate, being endowed with £400 a year and the house in East Gate, then used for the modern department of the Boys' School. According to the scheme, the Girls' School was

intended to be the counterpart, not of the Grammar School, but of the Middle School. But no third-grade Girls' School has ever yet been successfully attempted. In point of fact, the Girls' School, though its fees have been on the lower level of £4 to £6, 10s., has been on the educational level of the Grammar rather than of that of the Middle School. Opened in the spring of 1879, under the headmistress-ship of Miss M. J. Fisher, it now contains 254 girls, whose wants are ably provided for by Miss Lea, of Girton College, Cambridge, and a Wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos.

The Middle School has already been incidentally mentioned. It now receives £260 a year from the endowment of the King's School, and from Sir Thomas White's charity £26, 16s. 8d. It occupies a new building on a somewhat cramped site in the Butts, opposite the now vacant space where the 'King's Newe Schole of Warwyke' stood for nearly 200 years. Under Mr. H. S. Pyne, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, it contains some 180 boys. As the fees are only £4 a year, it subsists mainly on grants from the Warwickshire County Council and the Board of Education. It is sometimes, but wrongly, called the County School. Its proper title, the Middle School, more aptly indicates its sphere, intermediate between the Elementary School and the Grammar School.

The parent school, the King's Grammar School, remains, as probably it has always been throughout its long career of close on 1000 years, almost wholly self-supporting. According to the scheme of 1875, it should have received £800 a year, though half of that was to be consumed in scholarships and exhibitions. But the whole endowment available for maintenance of the three schools was only about £750. Out of this the Middle School, until 1899, received close on, and the Girls' School rather more than, £400 a year. Consequently nothing was left for the Grammar School. It was therefore maintained out of the profits of boarders and the fees of those parents of the town and neighbourhood who are wise enough to give their sons the best education within their reach. The scholarships and exhibitions were found by borrowing, to be repaid out of the quinquennial payments from Sir



THE BIG SCHOOL.

Thomas White's charity. In the lean years a crisis seemed imminent, but under the present headmaster the school rose from 55 to 110, with sure promise of further increment.

A Latin Carmen set to music by Mr. J. Hanorth, F.I.G.C.M., the school organist and music master, has been written for the school to sing at the Warwick Pageant in 1906, for the inception of which Warwick is largely indebted to Mr. Keeling.

FLOREAT DOMUS

Gaudeamus nos alumni,
Quod per infinita saecula
Schola perduravit ipsa.
Floret atque floreat
Schola Warwicensis.

Condidit regina pulchra,
Tradidit chartas equester,
Donat Henricus secundus.
Floret atque floreat
Schola Warwicensis.

Voce laeta concinamus,
Hoc loco nunc congregati
Per domos cras dissipati.
Floret atque floreat
Schola Warwicensis.

Haec domus duret per aevum,
Floreant omnes alumni,
Floreant semper magistri.
Floret atque floreat
Schola Warwicensis.

And so we leave this most ancient school, hoping that its good administration and prosperity will always be as much a matter of concern to the good people of Warwick and Warwickshire, its Earls and their ladies, and other authorities, spiritual and temporal, in the days of King Edward VII., as it is shown to have been to their predecessors in the days of King Henry VIII., of King Henry II. and of King Edward the Confessor.

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